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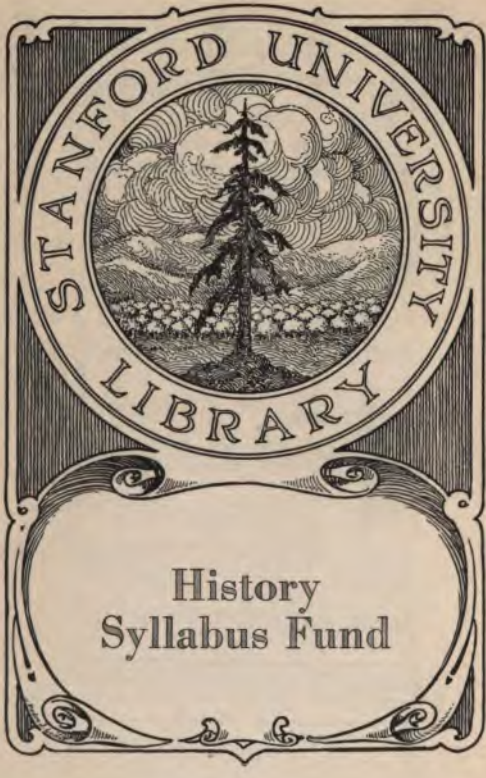

History
Syllabus Fund

THE TEMPLE PLUTARCH

Edited by

W. H. D.

ROUSE

M.A.

Pompey
from a bust at the Palazzo Spada, Rome.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES ENGLISHED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH IN TEN VOLUMES VOL. SIX

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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

The most of them compared together by that grave learned Philosopher and Historiographer Plutarch of Chæronea.

THE LIFE OF

MARCUS CRASSUS

Marcus Crassus' kinred and youth

Marcus Crassus was the son of a Censor, who had also received the honour of triumph: but himself was brought up in a little house with two other of his brethren, which were both married in their father's and mother's lifetime, and kept house together. Whereupon it came to pass, that he was a man of such sober and temperate diet, that one of his brethren being deceased, he married his wife by whom he had children. For women, he lived as continent a life, as any Roman of his time: notwithstanding, afterwards being of riper years, he was accused by Plotinus to have defloured one of the vestal nuns called Licinia. But in truth the cause of that suspicion grew thus. Licinia had a goodly pleasant garden hard by the suburbs of the city, wherewith Crassus was marvellously in love, and would fain have had it good cheap: and upon this only occasion was often seen in speech with her, which made the people suspect him.

Crassus' covetousness

But forasmuch as it seemed to the judges that his covetousness was the cause that made him follow her, he was cleared of the incest suspected, but he never left following of the nun, till he had got the garden of her. The Romans say there was but that only vice of covetousness in Crassus, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine own opinion, methinks he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, since it grew so great, as the note of that only did hide and cover all his other vices. Now to set out his extreme covetous desire of getting, naturally bred in him, they prove it by two manifest reasons. The first, his manner and means he used to get: and the second, the greatness of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth, than three hundred talents. And during the time that he dealt in the affairs of the common wealth, he offered the tenths of all his goods wholly unto Hercules, kept open house for all the people of Rome, and gave also to every citizen of the same as much corn as would keep him three moneths: and yet when he went from Rome to make war with the Parthians, himself being desirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the sum of seven thousand one hundred talents. But if I may with license use evil speech, writing a troth: I say he got the most part of his wealth by fire and blood, raising his greatest revenue off public calamities. For when Sulla had taken the city of Rome, he made portsale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gave most, terming them his booty, only for that he would the nobility, and

greatest men of power in the city should be partakers with him of this iniquity: and in this open sale Crassus never left taking of gifts, nor buying of things of Sulla for profit. Furthermore, Crassus perceiving that the greatest decay commonly of the buildings in Rome came by fire, and falling down of houses, through the overmuch weight by numbers of storeys built one upon another: bought bondmen that were masons, carpenters, and these devisers and builders, and of those he had to the number of five hundred. Afterwards, when the fire took any house, he would buy the house while it was a-burning, and the next houses adjoining to it, which the owners sold for little, being then in danger as they were, and a-burning: so that by process of time, the most part of the houses in Rome came to be his. But notwithstanding that he had so many slaves to his workmen, he never built any house from the ground, saving his own house wherein he dwelt: saying, that such as delighted to build, undid themselves without help of any enemy. And though he had many mines of silver, many ploughs, and a number of hinds and ploughmen to follow the same: yet all that commodity was nothing, in respect of the profit his slaves and bondmen brought him daily in. As readers, scriveners, goldsmiths, bankers, receivers, stewards of household, carvers, and other such officers at the table, taking pains himself to help them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should do: and to be short, he thought the greatest care a good householder ought to have, was to see his slaves or servants well taught, being the most lively cattell and best instru-

How Crassus came by his goods

What elongeth to good husbandry

ments of a man's house. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake: that all things must be done by servants, and his servants must be ruled by him. For we see that the art and skill to be a good husband, when it consisteth in government of things without life or sense, is but a base thing, only tending to gain: but when it dependeth upon good order and government of men, methinks then it is to know how to govern well a common wealth. But as his judgement was good in the other, so was it very bad in this: that he thought no man rich, and wealthy, that could not maintain a whole army with his own proper goods. For the war (as King Archidamus was wont to say) is not made with any certainty of expense: and therefore there must no sufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. But herein Marius and he differed far in opinion: who having allowed every Roman fourteen acres land (called with them, *Jugera*) understanding that some were not pleased, but would have more, made them this answer: The gods forbid any Roman should think that land little, which indeed is enough to suffice for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, Crassus was courteous to strangers, for his house was open to them all, and he lent his friends money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roundly demand his money of them. So, his courtesy to lend many times without interest, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great usury. Indeed when he bade any man to come to his table, his fare was but even ordinary, without all excess: but his fine and

Crassus flieth Marius and Cinna

the way: but so soon as they were returned, he would call for it again. O wonderful patience of a man! to see that he making profession of philosophy as he did, the poor man being in great poverty, did not place poverty in things indifferent. But hereof we will speak more hereafter. Cinna and Marius being now of greater power, and coming on directly towards Rome, every man suspected straight their coming was for no good to the common wealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of Rome. For it so fell out indeed, that they slew all the chief men they found in the city, among whom Crassus' father and his brother were of the number, and himself being at that time but young, escaped the present danger only by flight. Furthermore, Crassus hearing that they laid wait to take him, and that the tyrants sought him in every place, took three of his friends in his company, and ten servants only, and fled into Spain with all possible speed, where he had been with his father before, and had got some friends when he was Prætor, and ruled that country. Nevertheless, seeing everybody afrayed, and mistrusting Marius' cruelty as if he had bin at their doors, he durst not bewray himself to any man, but went into the fields, and hid him in a great cave being within the land of one Vibius Paciacus by the seaside, from whence he sent a man of his to this Paciacus, to feel what goodwill he bare him, but specially for that his victuals began to fail him. Vibius hearing that Crassus was safe, and had escaped, became very glad of it: and understanding how many persons he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not himself to see

him, but called one of his slaves (who was his receiver and occupied that ground for him) and bringing him near the place where Crassus was, commanded him every night to provide meat for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rock whereunder was the cave, and make no words of it, neither be inquisitive for whom it was, for if he did, he should die for it: and otherwise, for keeping the thing secret as he commanded, he promised to make him a free man. This cave is not far from the seaside, and is closed in round about with two rocks that meet together, which receive a soft cool wind into them. When ye are entered into the cave, it is of a great height within, and in the hollowness thereof are many other caves of great receipt one within another, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of passing good water running hard by the rock, and the natural rifts of the rocks also receiving the light without, where they meet together, do send it inward into the cave. So that in the daytime it is marvellous light, and hath no damp air, but very pure and dry, by reason of the thickness of the rock, which sendeth all the moistness and vapour into that springing well. Crassus keeping close in this cave, Vibius' receiver brought victuals thither daily to relieve him, and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could understand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, observing the hour and time of his coming when he brought the same. He provided them no more than would even necessarily serve their turn, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheer withal: for Vibius was bent to entertain Crassus as honourably

Vibius' curtesy unto Crassus

Crassus' voyage into Africk

as he could possible, insomuch as he considered he was a young man, and therefore reason would he should offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieve his necessity only, he thought that rather a part of fear, than any show of love towards him. One day he took two fair young damsels, and brought them with him to the seaside: and when he came to the cave, shewed them where they should get up, and bade them not be afraid. Crassus at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afraid he had been betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whom they sought. They being instructed by Vibius what they should say, answered, that they sought their maister that was hidden there. Then Crassus knew this was Vibius' mirth to shew him courtesy: so he received them into his cave, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting Vibius understand by them what he lacked. Fenestella writeth, that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale many a time with great delight. In fine, Crassus (after he had lain hidden in this cave eight months) understanding that Cinna was dead, came out: and so soon as he made himself to be known, there repaired a great number of soldiers unto him, of whom he only chose two thousand five hundred, and with them passed by many cities, and sacked one called Malaca, as divers do write, but he flatly denied it, and stoutly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwards having gotten ships together, went into Africk, to Metellus Pius, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit

he tarried not long with Metellus, but jarring with him, went unto Sulla, who welcomed and honoured him as much, as any that he had about him. Sulla afterwards arriving in Italy, intending to employ all the young nobility he had in his company, gave every one of them charge under him, and sent Crassus into the country of the Marsians, to levy men of war there. Crassus desiring certain bands of Sulla to aid him, being driven to pass by his enemies, Sulla answered him angerly again: I give thee thy father, thy brother, thy friends and kinsmen to aid thee, whom they most wickedly have slain and murthered, and whose deaths I pursue with hot revenge of mine army, upon those bloody murtherers that have slain them. Crassus being nettled with these words, departed thence presently, and stoutly passing through his enemies, levied a good number of soldiers: and was ever after ready at Sulla's commandment in all his wars. Here began first (as they say) the strife and contention betwixt him and Pompey. For Pompey being younger than Crassus, and born of a wicked father in Rome, whom the people more hated than ever they did man: came yet to great honour by his valiancy, and by the notable acts he did in the wars at that time. So that Sulla did Pompey that honour many times, which he seldom did unto them that were his elders, nor yet unto those that were his equals: as to rise up when he came towards him, to put off his cap, to call him Imperator as much as lieutenant-general. And this galled Crassus to the heart, although he had no wrong in that Pompey was taken before him, because he had no experience in matters of war at that time, and

The emulation betwixt Crassus and Pompey

The valiantness of Crassus

also because these two vices that were bred in him, misery and covetousness, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the sack of the city of Tuder, which he took, he privily got the most part of the spoil to himself, whereof he was accused before Sulla. Yet in the last battell of all this civil war (which was the greatest and most dangerous of all other) even before Rome itself, the wing that Sulla led, was repulsed and overthrown: but Crassus that led the right wing, overcame his enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent Sulla word of his victory, and demanded victuals for his men. But then again he ran into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiscate goods of the outlaws appointed to be slain, for little or nothing. And it is said also, that he made one an outlaw in the country of the Bruttians, without Sulla's privity or commandment, only to have his goods. But Sulla being told of it, would never after use him in any open service. Surely this is a strange thing, that Crassus self being a great flatterer of other, and could creep into any man's favour: was yet himself easy to be won through flattery, of any man that would seek him that way. Furthermore, it is said of him that he had this property: that though himself was as extremely covetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproved and utterly misliked them that had his own humour of avarice. Pompey's honour that he attained unto daily, by bearing great charge and rule in the wars, did greatly trouble Crassus: both because he obtained the honour of triumph before he came to be senator, and also for that the Romans commonly called him, Pompeius Magnus, to say, Pompey the

Great. Crassus being in place on a time when one said that saw Pompey coming, see, Pompey the Great is come. And how great I pray ye, said he scornfully? Howbeit despairing that he could not attain to match him in the wars, he gave himself unto the affairs of the city: and by his pains and industry of pleading, and defending men's causes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that sued for any office, or demanded anything else of the people, he attained in the end to the like estimation and authority that Pompey was come unto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For Pompey's fame and power was greater in Rome, when himself was absent: and contrariwise when he was there present, Crassus oftentimes was better esteemed than he. Pompey carried a great majesty and gravity in his manner of life, would not be seen often of the people, but kept from repairing to open places, and would speak but in few men's causes, and that unwillingly: all to keep his favour and credit whole for himself, when he stood in need to employ the same. Where Crassus' diligence was profitable to many, because he kept continually in the market-place, and was easy to be repaired unto by any man that required his help, daily following those exercises, endeavouring himself to pleasure every man: so that by this easy access and familiarity, for favour and goodwill, he grew to exceed the gravity and majesty of Pompey. But as for the worthiness of their persons, their eloquence of speech, and their good grace and countenance: in all those (it is said) Pompey and Crassus were both alike. And this

Crassus' industry and cause of rising

rassus' incon-stancy

envy and emulation never carried Crassus away, with any open malice and ill-will. For though he was sorry to see Pompey and Cæsar honoured above him: yet the worm of ambition never bred malice in him. No, though Cæsar when he was taken by pirates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept prisoner cried out aloud: O Crassus, what joy will this be to thee, when thou shalt hear I am in prison. This notwithstanding, they were afterwards good friends, as it appeareth. For Cæsar being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into Spain, and not being able to satisfy his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to stay and arrest his carriage: Crassus in that time of need forsook him not, but became his surety for the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents. In fine, all Rome being divided into three factions, to wit, of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus (for as for Cato, the estimation they had of his fidelity was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at than practised) insomuch as the gravest and wisest men took part with Pompey. The liveliest youths, and likeliest to run into desperate attempts, they followed Cæsar's hope. Crassus keeping the middest of the stream, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes changed his mind and purpose. For in matters of government in the common weal, he neither shewed himself a constant friend, nor a dangerous enemy: but for gain, was easily made friend or foe. So that in a moment they saw him praise and reprove, defend and condemn, the same laws, and the same men. His estimation grew more, through the people's fear of him: than for any goodwill they bear him.

As appeareth by the answer that one Sicinius (a very busy headed man, and one that troubled every governor of the common weal in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not busy with Crassus amongst the rest: and how it happened that he so scaped his hands? O, said he, he carries hay on his horn. The manner was then at Rome, if any man had a curst bullock that would strike with his horn, to wind hay about his head, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commotion of fencers, which some call Spartacus' war, their wasting and destroying of Italy came upon this occasion. In the city of Capua, there was one Lentulus Batiatus, that kept a great number of fencers at unrebated foils, whom the Romans call gladiators, whereof the most part were Gauls and Thracians. These men were kept locked up, not for any fault they had committed, but only for the wickedness of their maister that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with another at the sharp. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steal away: but their conspiracy being bewrayed, three score and eighteen of them entered into a cook's house, and with the spits and kitchen knives, which there they got, went quite out of the city. By the way they fortuned to meet with carts laden with fencers' weapons, that were brought from Capua going to some other city: those they also took by force, and arming themselves therewith, got them then to a strong place of situation. Where amongst themselves they chose three captains, and one Spartacus a Thracian born (and of those countrymen that go wandering up and down

The war of the bondmen

The wit and behaviour of Spartacus

with their herds of beasts never staying long in a place) they made their general. This Spartacus was not only valiant, but strong made withal, and endowed with more wisdom and honesty, than is commonly found in men of his state and condition: and for civility and good understanding, a man more like to the Grecians, than any of his countrymen commonly be. It is reported, that when Spartacus came first to Rome to be sold for a slave, there was found as he slept, a snake wound about his face. His wife seeing it, being his own countrywoman, and a wise woman besides, possest with Bacchus' spirit of divination: said plainly that it did signify, that one day he should be of great power, much dread, and have very good success. This same woman prophetess was then with him, and followed him likewise when he fled. Now first they overthrew certain soldiers that came out of Capua against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their armour and weapons, made them glad to take the fencers' weapons, which they threw away as vile and unseemly. After that, the Romans sent Claudius prætor against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their fort, situate upon a hill that had a very steep and narrow ascent unto it, and kept the passage up to them: all the rest of the ground round about it, was nothing but high rocks hanging over, and upon them great store of wild vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest strips, and made thereof ladders, like to the ship ladders of ropes, of such a length and so strong, that they reached from the top of the hill even to the very bottom: upon those they all came safely down, saving one that tarried above to throw

down their armour after them, who afterwards by the same ladder saved himself last of all. The Romans mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behind, and put them in such a fear with the sudden onset, as they fled upon it every man, and so was their camp taken. Thereupon diverse herdmen and shepherds that kept cattell hard by the hill, joined with the Romans that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which some they armed, and others they used as scouts and spials to discover. Upon this overthrow was sent another captain from Rome, called Publius Varinus, against these bondmen: who first overcame Furius, the lieutenant of Varinus in battell, and two thousand of his men: and after that again they slew one Cossinius, and overthrew a great army of his, being joined with P. Varinus, as his fellow and counsellor. Spartacus having intelligence that Cossinius was bathing himself at a place called the salt pits, had almost taken him tardy, having much ado by flight to save himself: notwithstanding, Spartacus wan all his carriage at that time, and having him hard in chase, took his whole camp with great slaughter of his men, among whom Cossinius' self was slain. Spartacus having thus now in sundry battels and encounters overcome the Prætor himself, P. Varinus, and at the length taken his sergeants from him that carried the axes before him, and his own horse whereon he rode himself: was grown then to such a power, as he was dreaded of every man. Yet all this notwithstanding, Spartacus wisely considering his own force, thinking it not good to tarry till he might overcome the power of the Romans: marched with his army towards

Claudius the prætor overcome of Spartacus

Spartacus' victories

the Alps, taking it their best way after they had passed them over, every man to repair home to his own country, some into Gaul, the rest into Thracia. But his soldiers trusting to their multitude, and persuading themselves to do great things: would not obey him therein, but went again to spoil and overrun all Italy. The Senate of Rome being in a great perplexity, not only for the shame and dishonour that their men should be overcome in that sort by slaves and rebels, but also for the fear and danger all Italy stood in besides: sent both the Consuls together, Gellius and Lentulus, as unto as difficult and dangerous a war, as any that could have happened unto them. This Gellius one of the Consuls, setting suddenly upon a band of the Germans, which in a bravery and contempt as it were, dispersed themselves from their camp, put them to the sword every man. Lentulus, his colleague and fellow-consul on the other side, compassed in Spartacus round with a great army: but Spartacus charged his lieutenants that led the army, gave them battell, overthrew them, and took all their carriage. Hereupon, marching on still with his army towards the Alps, Cassius the Prætor, and Governor of Gaul about the Po, came against him with an army of ten thousand men. Spartacus joined battell with him, and overcame him. Cassius having lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty saved himself by flying. The Senate hearing of Cassius' overthrow, were marvellously offended with the Consuls, and sent commandment unto them, to leave off the war: and thereupon gave the whole charge thereof unto Marcus Crassus, who was accompanied in this journey with many

noble young gentlemen of honourable houses, both for that he was marvellously esteemed, and also for the goodwill they bare him. Now went Crassus from Rome, and camped in Romania, tarrying Spartacus' coming, who was marching thitherward. He sent Mummius one of his lieutenants with two legions, to fetch a compass about to entrap the enemy behind, straitly commanding him to follow Spartacus' rearward, but in no case to offer him skirmish nor battell. But Mummius notwithstanding this strait commandment, seeing some hope given him to do good, set upon Spartacus, who gave him the overthrow, slew numbers of his men, and moe had slain, saving that certain of them saved themselves by flight, having only lost their armour and weapons. Hereupon Crassus was grievously offended with Mummius, and receiving his soldiers that fled, gave them other armour and weapons: but yet upon sureties, that they should keep them better thenceforth, than they had before done. Now Crassus of the five hundred that were in the first ranks, and that first fled, them he divided into fifty times ten, and out of every one of those he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: renewing again the ancient discipline of the Romans to punish cowardly soldiers, which of long time before had not been put in use. For it is a kind of death that bringeth open shame withal, and because it is done in the face of the camp, it maketh all the residue afraid to see the terror of this punishment. Crassus having done execution in this sort upon his men, led his army against Spartacus: who still drew back, until he came to the seaside through the country of the Lucanians, where he found in

Mummius overthrown by Spartacus

Crassus' wonderful trench and wall

the strait of the Far of Messina, certain pirates' ships of Cilicia, and there determined to go into Sicilia. And having put two thousand men into Sicily, he then revived the war there of the slaves, which was but in manner newly ended, and lacked small provocation to begin it again. But these pirates having promised Spartacus to pass him over thither, and also taken gifts of him, deceived him, and brake their promise. Whereupon Spartacus returning back again from the seaside, went and camped within a little isle of the Rhegians. Crassus coming thither to seek him, and perceiving that the nature of the place taught him what he should do: determined with a wall to choke up the bar or channel entering into this little island, both to keep his men occupied from idleness, and his enemies also from victual. This was a marvellous hard and long piece of work, notwithstanding, Crassus finished it beyond all men's expectation in a very short time, and brought a trench from one side of the sea to the other overthwart this bar, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen foot broad, and so many in height: and upon the top of this trench built a high wall, of a marvellous strength, whereof Spartacus at the first made light account, and laughed at it. But when pillage began to fail him, and travelling all about the isle for victuals, perceiving himself to be shut in with this wall, and that there was no kind of victuals to be had within all the compass of the isle: he then took the vantage of a rough boisterous night, the wind being very great, when it snowed exceedingly, set his men on work, and filled up a piece of the trench (being a small breadth) with earth, stones, and

boughs of trees, whereupon he passed over the third of his army. Crassus at the first then became afraid, least Spartacus would have taken his way directly toward Rome: but he was soon put out of that fear, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling against Spartacus, went and camped by themselves by the lake of Lucania, which water by report hath this variable property, that at certain times it changeth and becometh very sweet, and at some other times again so salt and brackish, as no man can drink it. Crassus going to set upon them, drave them beyond the lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very far: because Spartacus came presently to the rescue with his army, who stayed the chase. Crassus had written letters before to the Senate, to call Lucullus home out of Thracia, and Pompey out of Spain, whereof he then repented him, and made all the possible speed he could to end this war, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them soever came to his help, to him would the people give the honour of ending this war, and not to himself. Wherefore he first determined to assail them that had revolted from Spartacus, and camped by themselves: who were led by Caius Cannicius, and another called Castus. So Crassus sent six thousand footmen before to take a hill, commanding them to lie as close as they could, that their enemies might not discover them: and so they did, and covered their morians and headpieces as well as might be, from being seen. Nevertheless they were discovered by two women doing sacrifice for the safety of their army: and thereupon were all

Ambush laid by Crassus

The valiantness of Spartacus' soldiers

in great hazard of casting away, had not Crassus been, who came in time to their aid, and gave the enemies the cruellest battell that ever they fought in all that war. For there were slain of the slaves at that battell, twelve thousand and three hundred, of which, two only were found hurt in the backs, and all the rest slain in the place of their ranks, valiantly fighting where they were set in battell ray. Spartacus after this overthrow, drew towards the mountains of Petelie, whither Quintus, one of Crassus' lieutenants, and Scrofa his treasurer followed him, still skirmishing with his rearward all the way: yet in fine, Spartacus turned suddenly upon them, made the Romans fly that still harried his men in that sort, and hurt Scrofa Crassus' treasurer so sore, that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the Romans by this overthrow, fell out in the end to the utter destruction of Spartacus. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitive bondmen, grew to such a stoutness and pride of themselves, that they would no more fly from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their leaders and captains: but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and told them, that they should go back again with them whether they would or not, and be brought through Lucania against the Romans. All this made for Crassus as he wished, for he had received news that Pompey was coming, and that divers were suitors for him at Rome to be sent in this journey, saying, that the last victory of this war was due to him, and that he would despatch it at a battell, as soon as he came thither. Crassus therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as near the enemy as he could, and

made his men one day cast a trench, which the bondmen seeking to prevent, came with great fury, and set upon them that wrought. Whereupon fell out a hot skirmish, and still supplies came on of either side: so that Spartacus in the end perceiving he was forced unto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had set them in order, and that they brought him his horse he was wont to fight on: he drew out his sword, and before them all slew the horse dead in the place, saying: If it be my fortune to win the field, I know I shall have horse enow to serve my turn: and if I chance to be overcome, then shall I need no more horses. After that, he flew in among the Romans, thinking to attain to fight with Crassus, but he could not come near him: yet he slew with his own hands two Roman centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsook him and fled, so as Spartacus was left alone among his enemies: who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in pieces. Now though Crassus' fortune was very good in this war, and that he had shewed himself a noble and valiant captain, venturing his person in any danger, yet he could not keep Pompey from the honour of ending this war: for the slaves that scaped from this last battell where Spartacus was slain, fell into Pompey's hands, who made an end of all those rebellious rascals. Pompey hereupon wrote to the Senate, that Crassus had overcome the slaves in battell, but that he himself had pulled up that war even by the very roots. After this Pompey made his entry into Rome, and triumphed for his victory of Sertorius, and the conquest of Spain. Crassus also sued not for the great triumph, neither thought

The noble courage of Spartacus

Crassus made consul with Pompey

he the small Ovation triumph a foot, which they granted him, any honour unto him, for overcoming a few fugitive bondmen. But for this small triumph, whereby it was called Ovatio, how much it differeth from the great triumph: see Marcellus' life, where we have at large discoursed thereof. Now Pompey being called to be Consul: Crassus, though he stood in good hope to be chosen Consul with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherance. Pompey was very willing to help him, and was ever desirous to make Crassus beholding to him: whereupon he dealt friendly for him, and spake openly in the assembly of the city, that he would no less thank the people to appoint Crassus his companion and fellow Consul with him, than for making himself Consul. But notwithstanding they were both Consuls together in office, their friendship held not, but were ever at jar, and the one against the other. So by means of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulship without any memorable act done: saving that Crassus made a great sacrifice to Hercules, and kept an open feast for the people of Rome of a thousand tables, and gave to every citizen corn to find him three moneths. But in the end of their Consulship, at a common council holden, there was a knight of Rome called Onatius Aurelius: (a man not greatly known, for that he had no dealings in the State, and kept most in the country) who getting up to the pulpit for orations, told the people what a vision he had seen in his dream. Jupiter, said he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put Crassus and Pompey out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken

the words, but the people commanded them to be friends. Pompey sate still, and said never a word to it. But Crassus rose, and took Pompey by the hand, and turning him to the people, told them aloud: My Lords of Rome, I do nothing unworthy of myself, to seek Pompey's friendship and favour first, since you yourselves have called him the Great, before he had any hair upon his face, and that ye gave him the honour of triumph, before he was Senator. And this is all that Crassus did of any account in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it over without any act done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of war, nor took any view or estimate of the people's goods: although Lutatius Catulus was his colleague and fellow Censor, as gentle a person as any of that time that lived in Rome. Now Crassus at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruel and violent act, to bring Egypt to pay tribute to the Romans, Catulus did stoutly withstand him; whereby dissension falling out between them, they both did willingly resign their office. In that great conspiracy of Catiline, which in manner overthrew the whole state and common wealth of Rome, Crassus was had in some jealousy and mistrust: because there was one of the confederates that named him for one of them, howbeit they gave no credit unto him. Yet Cicero in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse Crassus and Cæsar, as confederates with Catiline: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consul ceased, he said: That Crassus came one night to him, and shewed him a

Crassus suspected for Catiline's conspiracy

Cæsar reconciled Crassus and Pompey together

letter touching Catiline, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause Crassus ever after hated him: and that he did not openly revenge it, the let was by mean of his son. For Publius Crassus much favouring eloquence, and being given to his book, bare great goodwill unto Cicero: in such sort, that upon his banishment he put on changed garments as Cicero did, and procured many other youths to do the like also, and in fine, persuaded his father to become his friend. Cæsar now returning to Rome from the province he had in government, intended to sue for the Consulship: and perceiving that Pompey and Crassus were again at a jar, thought thus with himself, that to make the one of them his friend to further his suit, he should but procure the other his enemy: and minding therefore to attain his desire with the favour of them both, sought first the means to make them friends, and persuaded with them, that by their controversy the one seeking the other's undoing, they did thereby but make Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, of the greater authority, who of themselves were of no power, if they two joined in friendship together: for making both their friends and factions one, they might rule the state and common wealth even as they would. Cæsar having by his persuasion reconciled Crassus and Pompey, joining their three powers in one, made themselves unvincible, which afterwards turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of Rome. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by the other's means: but himself also of great power through them. For when they began to favour Cæsar, he was straight chosen Consul without

any denial: and so behaved himself in the Consulship, that at the length they gave him charge of great armies, and then sent him to govern the Gauls: which was, as a man may say, even themselves to put him into the castell that should keep all the city in subjection: imagining that they two should make spoil and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a government. Now for Pompey, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing else, but his extreme ambition. But as for Crassus, besides his old vice of covetousness rooted in him, he added to that a new avarice and desire of triumphs and victories, which Cæsar's fame for prowess and noble acts in wars did throughly kindle in him, that he being otherwise his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferior: which fury took such hold as it never left him, till it brought him unto an infamous end, and the common wealth to great misery. Thus Cæsar being come out of his province of Gaul unto Luca, divers Romans went thither to see him, and among other Pompey and Crassus. They having talked with him in secret, agreed among them to devise to have the whole power of Rome in their hands: so that Cæsar should keep his army together, and Crassus and Pompey should take other provinces and armies to them. Now to attain to this, they had no way but one: that Pompey and Crassus should again sue the second time to be Consuls, and that Cæsar's friends at Rome should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of soldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consuls. Thereupon Pompey and Crassus returned to Rome to that end, but not without suspicion of

Pompey and Crassus did meet with Cæsar at Luca

Pompey's stout answer, Crassus' modest answer

their practice: for there ran a rumour in the city, that their meeting of Cæsar in Lucca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey in open Senate, if he meant to make suit to be Consul. Pompey answered them: peradventure he did, peradventure he did not. They asking him again the same question: he answered, he would sue for the good men, not for the evil. Pompey's answers were thought very proud and haughty. Howbeit Crassus answered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the common wealth, he would sue to be Consul: if not, that he would not stand for it. Upon these words, some were so bold to make suit for the Consulship: as Domitius among other. But afterwards Pompey and Crassus standing openly for it, all the rest left off their suit for fear of them, Domitius only excepted: whom Cato so prayed and entreated, as his kinsman and friend, that he made him to seek it. For he persuaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their liberty, and how that it was not the Consulship Crassus and Pompey looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: and that they sued not for the office, but to get such provinces and armies into their hands as they desired, under colour and countenance of the Consulship. Cato ringing these words into their ears, and believing it certainly to be true as he said, brought Domitius as it were by force into the market-place, where many honest men joined with them: because they wondered what the matter meant that these two noblemen should sue the second time to be Consuls, and why they made suit to be joined together, and not to have

any other with them, considering there were so many other worthy men, meet to be companion with either of them both in that office. Pompey fearing he should be prevented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongst other, when the day came to choose the Consuls, Domitius going early in the morning before day, accompanied with his friends to the place where the election should be: his man that carried the torch before him was slain, by some whom Pompey had laid in wait, and many of his company hurt, and among others, Cato. And having thus dispersed them, he beset a house round about whither they fled for succour, and enclosed them there, until they were both chosen Consuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and drave Cato out of the market-place, and slew some of them that resisted and would not fly. They also then prolonged Cæsar's government of the Gauls for five years more, and procured for themselves by decree of the people, the countries of Syria and Spain. Again, when they drew lots together, Syria fell to Crassus, and Spain to Pompey. Every man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth Pompey should go far from Rome: and himself also loving his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so near her, that he might remain the most of his time at Rome. But Crassus of all other rejoiced most at his hap, that he should go into Syria: and it appeared plainly that he thought it was the happiest turn that ever came to him, for he would ever be talking of the journey, were he in never so great or strange company. Furthermore, being among

Pompey made himself and Crassus consuls by force

Crassus had the government of Syria

his friends and familiars, he would give out such fond boasts of it, as no young man could have made greater vaunts: which was clean contrary to his years and nature, having lived all his lifetime as modestly, and with as small ostentation as any man living. But then forgetting himself too much, had such fond conceits in his head, as he not only hoped after the conquest of Syria, and of the Parthians, but flattered himself that the world should see all that Lucullus had done against King Tigranes, and Pompey against King Mithridates, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the Bactrians, the Indians, and the great ocean sea toward the east, though in the decree passed by the people, there was no mention made of any wars against the Parthians. Now every man saw Crassus' ambition and greedy desire of honour: insomuch as Cæsar self wrote unto Crassus out of Gaul, commending his noble intent and forwardness, and wished him to go through therewith. But Ateius one of the Tribunes being bent against Crassus to withstand his departure: (having divers other confederates with him to further his purpose, who much misliked that any man of a bravery and lustiness should make war with any nation or people that had no way offended the Romans, but were their friends and confederates): Crassus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pompey to assist and accompany him out of the city, because he was of great authority and much reverenced of the people, as it appeared then. For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let Crassus of his departure, and to cry out upon him: yet when they saw

Pompey go before him, with a pleasant smiling countenance, they quieted themselves, and made a lane for them, suffering them to pass on, and said nothing. This notwithstanding, Ateius the Tribune stepped before them, and commanded Crassus he should not depart the city, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiving Crassus still held on his way notwithstanding, he commanded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, and to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not suffer the officer to do it. So the sergeant dismissed Crassus. Then Ateius running towards the gate of the city, got a chafing dish with coals, and set it in the middest of the street. When Crassus came against it, he cast in certain perfumes, and made sprinklings over it, pronouncing horrible curses, and calling upon terrible and strange names of gods. The Romans say that those manner of curses are very ancient, but yet very secret, and of so great force, as he that is once cursed with that curse can never escape it, nor he that useth it doth ever prosper after it. And therefore few men do use it, and never but upon urgent occasion. But then they much reproved Ateius, for using of these dreadful ceremonies and extreme curses, which were much hurtful to the common wealth, although he for his country's sake had thus cursed Crassus. Crassus setting forward notwithstanding, sailed on, and arrived at Brundusium, when winter storms had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his ships: howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the country of Galatia. There he found King Deïotarus, a very old man and yet building a new city:

Crassus' journey into Syria

Zenodotia taken by Crassus

and to taunt him prettily, said unto him: What, O king, begin you to build now in the afternoon? To whom the king of the Galatians again smiling made answer: And truly sir captain, you go not very early (methinks) to make war with the Parthians. For indeed Crassus was threescore and upward, and yet his face made him seem elder then he was. But to our story again. Crassus being come into the country, had as good luck as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge upon the river of Euphrates, and passed his army over it without any let or trouble. So entering into Mesopotamia, received many cities, that of goodwill yielded themselves unto him. Howbeit there was one city called Zenodotia, whereof Apollonius was tyrant, where Crassus lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole army thither, took it by force, sacked their goods, and sold the prisoners by the drum. The Greeks called this city Zenodotia, and for winning of the same Crassus suffered his men to call him Imperator, to say, sovereign captain: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base mind, as one that had small hope to attain to great things, making such reckoning of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seven thousand of his footmen in garrison, in those cities that had yielded unto him, and about a thousand horsemen: he returned back to winter in Syria. Thither came his son Publius Crassus to him out of Gaul from Julius Cæsar, who had given him such honours, as generals of Rome did use to give to valiant soldiers for reward of their good service: and brought unto his father a thousand men of arms, all choice men.

This methinks was the greatest fault Crassus committed in all his enterprise of that war. For when he should presently have gone on still, and entered into Babylon and Seleucia, (cities that were ever enemies unto the Parthians) he tracted time, and gave them leisure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Again they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in Syria, seeming rather to lead a merchant's life, than a chieftain's. For he never saw his army, nor trained them out to any martial exercise, but fell to counting the revenue of the cities, and was many days busily occupied weighing of the gold and silver in the temple of the goddess Hierapolis. And worse than that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furnish him with a certain number of men of war, and then he would discharge them for a sum of money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, and despised of everybody. The first token of his ill-luck that happened to him, came from this goddess Hierapolis, whom some suppose to be Venus, others say Juno, and others, that she is the mother and chief cause that giveth beginning of moisture to every thing that cometh forth and hath a being, and taught men the original cause also of every good thing. For as Crassus the father, and son both, were coming out of the temple: Crassus the younger fell first on his face, and the father afterwards upon his son. Likewise as he was gathering his garrisons together, calling them out of the cities into the field, there came ambassadors unto him from Arsaces, king of the Parthians: who

Great faults committed by Crassus

Ambassadors of the Parthians

delivered him their message in few words, and told him, that if this army he brought came from the Romans to make war with their maister, then that he would have no peace nor friendship with them, but would make mortal wars against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that Crassus against the people's minds of Rome, for his own covetous desire, and peculiar profit was come in a jollity to make war with the Parthians, and to invade their country: then in that respect Arsaces would deal more favourably, in consideration of Crassus' years, and was contented also to suffer his men to depart with life and goods, whom he took rather to be in prison, than in garrison within his cities. Thereto Crassus courageously answered, that he would make them answer in the city of Seleucia. Therewith Vagises, one of the eldest ambassadors, fell a-laughing, and shewing Crassus the palm of his hand, told him thus: Hair will sooner grow in the palm of my hand, Crassus, than you will come to Seleucia. In this sort the ambassadors took their leave of Crassus, and returned to their king Hyrodes, telling him he was to prepare for war. In the mean space, certain of Crassus' soldiers whom he had left in garrison in the cities of Mesopotamia, having scaped marvellous dangerously and with great difficulty: brought him news of importance, having themselves seen the wonderful great camp of the enemy, and their manner of fight in the assaults they made to the cities where they lay in garrison. And, as it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any danger making things more fearful and dangerous than they be indeed: they reported that it was impossible by flying to save themselves, if they did

follow in chase: neither to overtake them also, if they fled. And further, that they had such kind of arrows as would fly swifter, than a man's eye could discern them, and would pierce through anything they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the horsemen's weapons they used, that they were such, as no armour could possibly hold out: and their armours on the other side made of such a temper and metal, as no force of anything could pierce them through. The Romans hearing these news, fell from their former stoutness and courage, being borne in hand before, that the Parthians differed nothing at all from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had overcome and spoiled so oft, that he was weary withal: and they had already made account, that their greatest pains in this war, was but the tediousness of the journey they had to make, and the trouble they should have to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrary to expectation, they looked to come to strokes, and to be lustily fought withal. Hereupon, divers captains and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom Cassius the treasurer was one) advised Crassus to stay, and to deliberate in council to know whether he were best to go on, or to remain where he was. The soothsayers themselves did partly let Crassus understand, that the gods shewed no good tokens in all their sacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But Crassus gave no ear to them, neither would hear any other that told him as much, but only listened to them that counselled him to make haste. Yet Crassus' chiefest comfort and encouragement, was of Artabazes, king of Ar-

Crassus forewarned by the soothsayers

Wonderful signs and tokens to Crassus

menia, who came to his camp with six thousand horse, which were but only the king's cornet and guard. Again he promised him other ten thousand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thousand footmen which he kept continually in pay, and counselled Crassus to enter the Parthians' couutry upon Armenia's side: because his camp should not only have plenty of victuals, which he would send him out of his country, but for that he should also march in more safety, having a country full of mountains and woods before him very ill for horsemen, which was the only strength and force of the Parthians. Crassus coldly thanked Artabazes for his goodwill, and all his noble offer of aid: yet told him he would take his journey through Mesopotamia, where he had left many good soldiers of the Romans. And thus departed the king of Armenia from him. But now as Crassus was passing his army upon the bridge he had made over the river of Euphrates, there fell out sudden strange and terrible cracks of thunder, with fearful flashes of lightning full in the soldiers' faces: moreover, out of a great black cloud came a wonderful storm and tempest of wind upon the bridge, that the marvellous force thereof overthrew a great part of the bridge, and carried it quite away. Besides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twice stricken with two great thunder claps. One of his great horse in like case, being bravely furnished and set out, took the bit in his teeth, and leapt into the river with his rider on his back, who were both drowned, and never seen after. They say also, that the first eagle and ensign that was to be taken up when they marched, turned back of

itself, without any hands laid upon it. Further it fortuned that as they were distributing the victuals unto the soldiers, after they had all passed over the bridge, the first thing that was given them, was salt, and water lentils, which the Romans take for a token of death and mourning, because they use it at the funerals of the dead. After all this, when Crassus was exhorting his soldiers, a word scaped his mouth that troubled the army marvellously. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made over the river of Euphrates, of purpose, because there should not a man of them return back again. Where indeed when he had seen that they took this word in ill part, he should have called it in again, or have declared his meaning, seeing his men so amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was so wilful. In the end he made ordinary sacrifice for the purging of his army: and when the soothsayer gave him the entrails of the beast that was sacrified, they fell out of his hands. Crassus perceiving that the standers by were troubled withal, fell a-laughing, and told them, You see what age is: yet shall you not see my sword fall out of my hand. So having ended his sacrifice, he began to march forward into the country by the river's side, with seven legions of footmen, and little lack of four thousand horse, and in manner as many shot and slings lightly armed. There returned to him certain of his scouts that had viewed the country, and told him there was not an enemy to be seen in the field: howbeit that they had found the track of a marvellous number of horse, which seemed as they were returned back. Then Crassus first of all began to hope well: and his soldiers also, they

Crassus' army

Ariamnes deceiveth Crassus

fell to despite the Parthians, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet Cassius his treasurer ever persuaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refresh his army a little in one of the cities where he had his garrison, until such time as he heard more certain news of the enemies: or else that he would march directly towards Seleucia by the river's side, which lay fit for him to victual himself easily by boats that would always follow his camp, and should be sure besides that the enemies could not environ him behind, so that having no way to set upon them but before, they should have none advantage of them. Crassus going about then to consult of the matter, there came one Ariamnes unto him, a captain of the Arabians, a fine subtile fellow, which was the greatest mischief and evil, that fortune could send to Crassus at that present time, to bring him to utter ruin and destruction. For there were some of Crassus' soldiers that had served Pompey before in that country, who knew him very well, and remembered that Pompey had done him great pleasures: whereupon they thought that he bare great goodwill to the Romans. But Ariamnes had been laboured at that time by the king of Parthia's captains, and was won by them to deceive Crassus, and to entice him all he could, to draw him from the river and the woody country, and to bring him into the plain field, where they might compass him in with their horsemen: for they meant nothing less than to fight with the Romans at the sword's point. This barbarous captain Ariamnes coming to Crassus, did highly praise and commend Pompey, as his good lord and benefactor

(for he was an excellent spoken man) and extolled Crassus' army, reproving him that he came so slowly forward, tracting time in that sort as he did, preparing himself as though he had need of armour and weapon, and not of feet and hands swift and ready against the enemies: who (for the chiefest of them) had of long time occupied themselves to fly with their best movables, towards the deserts of Scythia and Hyrcania. Therefore if you determine (said he) to fight, it were good you made haste to meet them, before the king have gathered all his power together. For now you have but Surena and Sillaces, two of his lieutenants against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you that you follow him not: and for the king himself, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lied in all. For King Hyrodes had divided his army in two parts at the first, whereof himself took the one, and went to spoil the realm of Armenia, to be revenged of King Artabazes: and with the other he sent Surena against the Romans, not for any contempt he had of Crassus (for it was not likely he would disdain to come to battel with him, being one of the chiefest noblemen of Rome, and to think it more honourable to make war with King Artabazes in Armenia) but I think rather he did it of purpose to avoid the greater danger, and to keep far off, that he might with safety see what would happen, and therefore sent Surena before to hazard battell, and to turn the Romans back again. For Surena was no mean man, but the second person of Parthia next unto the king: in riches, reputation, valure, and experience in wars, the chiefest of his time among all the Parthians, and for execution,

Surena sent against Crassus

Surena a young man, but very wise

no man like him. Surena, when he did but remove into the country only with his household, had a thousand camels to carry his sumpters, and two hundred coaches of courtesans, a thousand men of arms armed at all pieces, and as many moe besides lightly armed: so that his whole train and court made above ten thousand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancestors, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the royal crown or diadem upon the king's head. Moreover, he had restored King Hyrodes that then reigned, to his crown, who had been before driven out of his realm: and had won him also the great city of Seleucia, himself being the first man that scaled the walls, and overthrew them with his own hands that resisted him. And though he was under thirty years of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsel, as his experience, which were the means whereby he overcame Crassus. Who through his rashness and folly at the first, and afterwards for very fear and timorousness, which his misfortune had brought him unto, was easy to be taken and entrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous captain Ariamnes having then brought Crassus to believe all that he said, and drawn him by persuasion from the river of Euphrates, unto a goodly plain country, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sands where their feet sunk deep, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could discern by eye, so that not only extreme thirst and miserable way marvellously amazed the Romans,

but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight upon: that, above all the rest, wrought their extreme trouble. For, neither far nor near any sight of tree, river, brook, mountain, grass, or green herb appeared within their view, but in troth an endless sea of desert sands on every side, round about their camp. Then began they to suspect that they were betrayed. Again, when news came that Artabazes king of Armenia, was kept in his country with a great war King Hyrodes made upon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aid him, yet that he wished him to draw towards Armenia, that both their armies being joined together they might the better fight with King Hyrodes, if not, that he would always keep the woody country, marching in those valleys and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountains: Crassus was so wilful, as he would write no answer to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leisure then to hearken to the Armenians, but that afterwards he would be revenged well enough of Artabazes' treason. Cassius his treasurer was much offended with Crassus for this answer: howbeit perceiving he could do no good with him, and that he took everything in evil part, he said unto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking Ariamnes this captain of the Armenians aside, he rebuked him roundly, and said: O thou wretch, what cursed divel hath brought thee to us, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched and charmed Crassus: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endless desert, and to trace this way fitter

Crassus' wilfulness

Crassus' army

for an Arabian captain of thieves, than for a general and Consul of the Romans? Ariamnes being crafty and subtile, speaking gently unto Cassius, did comfort him, and prayed him to have patience, and going and coming by the bands, seeming to help the soldiers, he told them merrily: O my fellows, I believe you think to march through the country of Naples, and look to meet with your pleasant springs, goodly groves of wood, your natural baths, and the good inns round about to refresh you, and do not remember that you pass through the deserts of Arabia and Assyria. And thus did this barbarous captain entertain the Romans awhile: but afterwards he dislodged betimes, before he was openly known for a traitor, and yet not without Crassus' privity, whom he bare in hand, that he would go set some broil and tumult in the enemies' camp. It is reported that Crassus the very same day came out of his tent not in his coat armour, of scarlet, (as the manner was of the Roman generals) but in a black coat: howbeit, remembering himself, he straight changed it again. It is said moreover, that the ensign bearers when they should march away, had much ado to pluck their ensigns out of the ground, they stuck so fast. But Crassus scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to march forward, compelling the footmen to go as fast as the horsemen, till a few of their scouts came in, whom they had sent to discover: who brought news how the enemies had slain their fellows, and what ado they had themselves to scape with life, and that they were a marvellous great army, and well appointed to give them battell. This news made all the camp afraid, but Crassus

self more than the rest, so as he began to set his men in battell ray, being for haste in manner besides himself. At the first following Cassius' mind, he set his ranks wide, casting his soldiers into a square battell, a good way asunder one from another, because he would take in as much of the plain as he could, to keep the enemies from compassing them in, and so divided the horsemen into the wings. Yet afterwards he changed his mind again, and straighted the battell of his footmen, fashioning it like a brick, more long than broad, making a front, and shewing their faces every way. For there were twelve cohorts or ensigns embattled on either side, and by every cohort a company of horse, because there should be no place left without aid of horsemen, and that all his battell should be alike defended. Then he gave Cassius the leading of one wing, his son Publius Crassus the other, and himself led the battell in the middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a little brook called Balissus, where there was no great store of water, but yet happily lighted on for the soldiers, for the great thirst and extreme heat they had abidden all that painful way, where they had met with no water before. There the most part of Crassus' captains thought best to camp all night, that they might in the meantime find means to know their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But Crassus yielding to his son's and his horsemen's persuasion, who entreated him to march on with his army, and to set upon the enemy presently: commanded, that such as would eat, should eat

against the Parthians

Surena's stratagem for the hiding of his army

standing, keeping their ranks. Yet on the sodain, before this commandment could run through the whole army, he commanded them again to march, not fair and softly as when they go to give battell, but with speed, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the Romans at the first to be so great a number, neither so bravely armed as they thought they had been. For, concerning their great number, Surena had of purpose hid them, with certain troops he sent before: and to hide their bright armours, he had cast cloaks and beasts' skins upon them, but when both the armies approached near the one to the other, and that the sign to give charge was lift up in the air: first they filled the field with a dreadful noise to hear. For the Parthians do not encourage their men to fight with the sound of a horn, neither with trumpets nor howboys, but with great kettle drums hollow within, and about them they hang little bells and copper rings, and with them they all make a noise everywhere together, and it is like a dead sound, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wild beast, and a fearful noise as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that soonest moveth the heart and spirit of any man, and maketh him soonest besides himself. The Romans being put in fear with this dead sound, the Parthians straight threw the clothes and coverings from them that hid their armour, and then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steel, that glared like fire, and their horses barbed with steel and copper. And Surena also, general of the Parthians, who was as goodly a personage, and as valiant, as any other in all his host, though his beauty some-

what effeminate, in judgement shewed small likelihood of any such courage: for he painted his face, and ware his hair after the fashion of the Medes, contrary to the manner of the Parthians, who let their hair grow after the fashion of the Tartars, without combing or tricking of them, to appear more terrible to their enemies. The Parthians at the first thought to have set upon the Romans with their pikes, to see if they could break their first ranks. But when they drew near, and saw the depth of the Romans' battell standing close together, firmly keeping their ranks: then they gave back, making as though they fled, and dispersed themselves. But the Romans marvelled when they found it contrary, and that it was but a device to environ them on every side. Whereupon Crassus commanded his shot and light armed men to assail them, the which they did: but they went not far, they were so beaten in with arrows, and driven to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and troubled the Romans, when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies' shot, which brake their armours, and ran through anything they hit, were it never so hard or soft. The Parthians thus still drawing back, shot all together on every side, not aforehand, but at adventure: for the battell of the Romans stood so near together, as if they would, they could not miss the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great strength, and had big strong bows, which sent the arrows from them with a wonderful force. The Romans by means of these bows were in hard state. For if they kept their ranks, they were grievously

The Parthians fought retiring

The manner of the Parthians' fight

wounded: again if they left them, and sought to run upon the Parthians to fight at hand with them, they saw they could do them but little hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harm themselves. For, as fast as the Romans came upon them, so fast did the Parthians fly from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no nation but the Scythians could better do than they, being a matter indeed most greatly to their advantage. For by their flight they best do save themselves, and fighting still, they thereby shun the shame of that their flying. The Romans still defended themselves, and held it out, so long as they had any hope that the Parthians would leave fighting, when they had spent their arrows or would join battell with them. But after they understood that there were a great number of camels loden with quivers full of arrows, where the first that had bestowed their arrows fetched about to take new quivers: then Crassus seeing no end of their shot, began to faint, and sent to Publius his son, willing him in any case to charge upon the enemies, and to give an onset, before they were compassed in on every side. For it was on Publius' side, that one of the wings of the enemies' battell was nearest unto them, and where they rode up and down to compass them behind. Whereupon Crassus' son taking thirteen hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thousand were of the men of arms whom Julius Cæsar sent) and five hundred shot, with eight ensigns of footmen having targets, most near to the place where himself then was: he put them out in breadth, that wheeling about they might give a charge upon them that rode up and down. But

they seeing him coming, turned straight their horse and fled, either because they met in a marish, or else of purpose to beguile this young Crassus, enticing him thereby as far from his father as they could. Publius Crassus seeing them fly, cried out, These men will not abide us, and so spurred on for life after them: so did Censorinus and Megabacchus with him (the one a senator of Rome a very eloquent man, the other a stout couragious valiant man of war) both of them Crassus' well approved friends, and in manner of his own years. Now the horsemen of the Romans being trained out thus to the chase, their footmen also would not abide behind, nor shew themselves to have less hope, joy and courage, than their horsemen had. For they thought all had been won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chase: till they were gone far from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, suddenly turned again, and a number of others besides came and set upon them. Whereupon they stayed, thinking that the enemies perceiving they were so few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they set out against them their men at arms with their barbed horse, and made their light horsemen wheel round about them, keeping no order at all: who galloping up and down the plain, whirled up the sand hills from the bottom with their horse feet, which raised such a wonderful dust, that the Romans could scarce see or speak one to another. For they being shut up into a little room, and standing close one to another, were sore wounded with the Parthians' arrows, and died of a cruel lingering death, crying out for

The miserable fight of the Romans

The worthy deeds of the Gauls

anguish and pain they felt: and turning and tormenting themselves upon the sand, they brake the arrows sticking in them. Again, striving by force to pluck out the forked arrow heads, that had pierced far into their bodies through their veins and sinews: thereby they opened their wounds wider, and so cast themselves away. Many of them died thus miserably martyred: and such as died not, were not able to defend themselves. Then when Publius Crassus prayed and besought them to charge the men at arms with their barbed horse, they shewed him their hands fast nailed to their targets with arrows, and their feet likewise shot through and nailed to the ground: so as they could neither fly nor yet defend themselves. Thereupon himself encouraging his horsemen, went and gave a charge, and did valiantly set upon the enemies, but it was with too great disadvantage, both for offence, and also for defence. For himself and his men with weak and light staves, brake upon them that were armed with curaces of steel, or stiff leather jacks. And the Parthians in contrary manner with mighty strong pikes gave charge upon these Gauls, which were either unarmed, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom Crassus most trusted, having done wonderful feats of war with them. For they received the Parthians' pikes in their hands, and took them about the middles, and threw them off their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not stir for the weight of their harness: and there were divers of them also that lighting from their horse, lay under their enemies' horse bellies, and thrust their swords into them. Their horse flinging and

bounding in the air for very pain threw their masters under feet, and their enemies one upon another, and in the end fell dead among them. Moreover, extreme heat and thirst did marvellously comber the Gauls, who were used to abide neither of both: and the most part of their horse were slain, charging with all their power upon the men at arms of the Parthians, and so ran themselves in upon the points of their pikes. At the length, they were driven to retire towards their footmen, and Publius Crassus among them, who was very ill by reason of the wounds he had received. And seeing a sand hill by chance not far from them, they went thither, and setting their horse in the middest of it, compassed it in round with their targets, thinking by this means to cover and defend themselves the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the country being plain, they in the foremost ranks did somewhat cover them behind, but they that were behind, standing higher than they that stood foremost (by reason of the nature of the hill that was highest in the middest) could by no means save themselves, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their own misery and misfortune, that must needs die without revenge, or declaration of their valiancy. At that present time there were two Grecians about Publius Crassus, Hieronymus, and Nicomachus, who dwelt in those quarters, in the city of Carres: they both counselled P. Crassus to steal away with them, and to fly to a city called Ichnæ, that was not far from thence, and took the Romans' part. But Publius answered them, that there was no death so cruel as could make him forsake

The last stand

The death of Publius Crassus

them, that died for his sake. When he had so said, wishing them to save themselves, he embraced them, and took his leave of them: and being very sore hurt with the shot of an arrow through one of his hands, commanded one of his gentlemen to thrust him through with a sword, and so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported Censorinus did the like. But Megabacchus slew himself with his own hands, and so did the most part of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left alive, the Parthians got up the sand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their spears and pikes, and took but five hundred prisoners. After that, they stroke off Publius Crassus' head, and thereupon returned straight to set upon his father Crassus, who was then in this state. Crassus the father, after he had willed his son to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and pursued the chase: and perceiving also that they that remained in their great battell, did not press upon him so near as they did before, because that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue: he then began to be lively again, and keeping his men close, retired with them the best he could by a hill's side, looking ever that his son would not be long before that he returned from the chase. But Publius seeing himself in danger, had sent divers messengers to his father, to advertise him of his distress, whom the Parthians intercepted and slew by the way: and the last messengers he sent, scaping very hardly, brought Crassus news, that his son was but cast away, if he did not presently aid him, and that with a great power. These news were

grievous to Crassus in two respects: first for the fear he had, seeing himself in danger to lose all: and secondly for the vehement desire he had to go to his son's help. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to go with all his power, to the rescue of his son. But in the meantime the enemies were returned from his son's overthrow, with a more dreadful noise and cry of victory, than ever before: and thereupon their deadly sounding drums filled the air with their wonderful noise. The Romans then looked straight for a hot alarm. But the Parthians that brought Publius Crassus' head upon the point of a lance, coming near to the Romans, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parents: for it is not likely (said they) that so noble and valiant a young man, should be the son of so cowardly a father, as Crassus. The sight of Publius Crassus' head killed the Romans' hearts more, than any other danger they had been in at any time in all the battell. For it did not set their hearts on fire as it should have done, with anger, and desire of revenge: but far otherwise, made them quake for fear, and struck them stark dead to behold it. Yet Crassus self shewed greater courage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the war beside. For riding by every band he cried out aloud: "The grief and sorrow of this loss (my fellows) is no man's but mine, mine only: but the noble success and honour of Rome remaineth still invincible, so long as you are yet living. Now, if you pity my loss of so noble and valiant a son, my good soldiers, let me entreat you to turn your sorrow into fury: make

Crassus' oration to his soldiers

The battle of Carrhæ

them dearly buy the joy they have gotten: be revenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune fear you. For why: aspiring minds sometimes must needs sustain loss. Lucullus overcame not Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, but their blood did pay for it. Our ancestors in old time lost a thousand ships, yea in Italy divers armies and chieftains for the conquest of Sicilia: yet for all the loss of them, at the length they were victorious over them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the empire of Rome came not to that greatness it now is at, by good fortune only, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble and adversity never yielding or giving place unto any danger.' Crassus using these persuasions to encourage his soldiers for resolution, found that all his words wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commanded them to give the shout of battell, he plainly saw their hearts were done, for that their shout rose but faint, and not all alike. The Parthians on the other side, their shout was great, and lustily they rang it out. Now when they came to join, the Parthians' archers on horseback compassing in the Romans upon the wings, shot an infinite number of arrows at their sides. But their men at arms giving charge upon the front of the Romans battel with their great lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow room, a few excepted, that valiantly and in desperate manner ran in among them, as men rather desiring so to die, than to be slain with their arrows, where they could do the Parthians almost no hurt at all. So were they soon despatcht, with the great lances that ran them through, head, wood and all, with such a force, a

oftentimes they ran through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, saying: They would give Crassus that night's respite, to lament and bewail his son's death; unless that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer himself to King Arsaces' mercy, than to tarry to be brought unto him by force. So the Parthians camping hard by the Romans, were in very good hope to overthrow him the next morning. The Romans on the other side had a marvellous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dress their wounded men, that died in miserable pain: but every man bewailed his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape, if they tarried till the morning. On the other side, to depart in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieve them much. Because, to carry them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leave them so behind, their pitiful cries would give the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now, though they all thought Crassus the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to hear him speak. But Crassus went aside without light, and laid him down with his head covered, because he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sort an example of unstable fortune: and the wise men, a good learning to know the fruits of ill counsel, and vain ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to command so many thousands of men, but thought (as a man would say) himself the meanest of all other, and one that possest nothing, because he was accounted in-

Crassus an example of fortune's inconstancy

Crassus flying

ferior unto two persons only, Pompey and Cæsar. Notwithstanding, Octavius one of his chieftains, and Cassius the treasurer, made him rise, and sought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so overcome with sorrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor spirit in him: they themselves called the captains and centurions together, and sate in council for their departure, and so agreed that there was no longer tarrying for them. Thus of their own authority at the first they made the army march away without any sound of trumpet or other noise. But immediately after, they that were left hurt and sick, and could not follow, seeing the camp remove, fell a-crying out and tormenting themselves in such sort, that they filled the whole camp with sorrow, and put them out of all order with the great moan and loud lamentation: so as the foremost rank that first dislodged, fell into a marvellous fear, thinking they had been the enemies that had come and set upon them. Then turning oft, and setting themselves in battell ray, one while loading their beasts with the wounded men, another while unloading them again, they were left behind, saving three hundred horsemen that scaped, who came about midnight to the city of Carrhæ. Ignatius their captain called to the watch on the walls, and spake in the Latin tongue. Who answering, he willed them to tell Coponius, governor of the town, that Crassus had fought a great battell with the Parthians, and said no more, neither told what he was: but rode on still till he came to the bridge which Crassus had made over Euphrates. Yet this word Ignatius gave to the watch to tell Coponius, served Crassus' turn

very well. For Coponius thought by this great haste of his, and the short confused speech he made, passing on his way, that he had no good news to tell them: wherefore he straight armed his soldiers, and understanding that Crassus was returning back, went to meet him, and brought him and his army into the city of Carrhæ. The Parthians knew well enough of the removing of the Romans' camp, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their camp where they lay, slew all that were left behind, which were about four thousand men: and riding after them that were gone, took many stragglers in the plain. Among them there was Vargunteius, one of Crassus' lieutenants, who strayed in the night out of the army with four whole ensigns, and having lost his way, got a hill, where the Parthians besieged him, slew him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himself: yet twenty of them only escaped, who with their swords drawn in their hands, running forward with their heads, thrust in among the thickest of the Parthians. They wondering at their desperation, opened of themselves, and suffered them to march on towards the city of Carrhæ. In the meantime false news was brought to Surena, how Crassus with all the chiefest men of his host was fled, and that the great number that were received into the city of Carrhæ were men of all sorts gathered together, and not a man of any quality or estimation. Surena thereupon thinking he had lost the honour of his victory, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would know the truth, that he might either besiege the city of Carrhæ, or pursue after Crassus: sent one of his interpreters to the walls

The valiantness of twenty Romans

A stratagem of Surena

of the city, charging him to call for Crassus Cassius, and to tell them that Surena would pa with them. The interpreter did as he was c manded. Word was brought to Crassus, he accepted parlance. Shortly after also, thi came certain soldiers of the Arabians from camp of the Parthians, who knew Crassus Cassius very well by sight, having divers ti seen them in their camp before the battell. T Arabians seeing Cassius upon the walls, told that Surena was contented to make peace with th and to let them go safely, as his maister's g friends, so that they would surrender Mesopot into the king of Parthia's hands, and how thought that was the best way for both parties, ra than to be enforced unto it by extremity. Ca thought this a good offer, and told them, that must appoint the day and place, where Crassus Surena should meet to talk together of the ma The Arabians made answer they would do it: so departed. Surena hearing this, was glad he them at such advantage, where he might bes them. The next day he brought all his army be the city of Carrhæ. There the Parthians mar lously reviled the Romans, and told them, they deliver them Crassus and Cassius bound hands feet, if they would have any grace or peace them. The Romans were marvellously offen that they were thus deceived, and told Crassus it was no boot any longer to look for aid of Armenians, but presently to fly: howbeit to it secret in any wise from any of the Carrheni till the very hour of their departure. Yet Cra self had told it to Andromachus, the veriest tra

and villain in all the city, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor Andromachus advertised the enemies in every point, of their purpose and departure. But because the Parthians do never use to fight in the night, and that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and again that Crassus departed in the night time: Andromachus was afraid lest the Romans would win such ground before the Parthians, as they could not possibly overtake him the next day. Therefore of purpose he sometime brought them one way, other while another way, and at the last, brought them into a great bog or marish, full of deep holes and ditches, and where they must needs make many turns and returns before they could get out again, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the army began to mistrust, that Andromachus meant no good to turn and toss them up and down in that sort, and therefore would follow him no more: insomuch as Cassius among others, returned towards the city of Carrhæ again, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were Arabians) counselled him to tarry there, till the moon were out of the sign of Scorpio, he answered them: I fear the sign of Sagittary more. So as soon as he could, he took his way towards Assyria with five hundred horsemen. And other of the army also having faithful guides, recovered a country of the mountains, called Sinnaca, and retired into a safe place before the break of day: and they were about five hundred men, whom Octavius a nobleman had in charge. But the day stole upon Crassus, hunting up and down yet in the marish, in those ill-favoured places, into the which Andromachus that traitor had of

Andromachus' treason Crassus

The worthiness of the Roman soldiers to their chieftain

purpose brought him, having with him four ensigns of footmen all with targets, and very few horsemen, and five sergeants that carried the axes and rods before him: with whom, with much ado and great labour, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almost upon him, and that he was within twelve furlongs of joining with Octavius. There in haste he had gotten a hill, which was not so steep for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hills were, called Sinnaca, yet under them, and joining to them by a long hill that runneth alongst the plain, so as Octavius plainly saw the danger Crassus was in. Therefore he first ran down the hills with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, saying they were cowards if they should tarry behind. At their coming they gave such a hot onset upon the Parthians, that they made them give back from that hill: and compassing Crassus in the middest of them, covering him round with their targets, they spake nobly, that never arrow of the Parthians should touch the body of their general, before they were slain one after another, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon Surena perceiving the Parthians were not so courageous as they were wont to be, and that if night came upon them, and that the Romans did once recover the high mountains, they could never possibly be met withal again: he thought cunningly to beguile Crassus once more by this device. He let certain prisoners go of purpose, before whom he made his men give out this speech: That the king of Parthia would have no mortal war with the Romans: but far otherwise, he rather

desired their friendship, by shewing them some notable favour, as to use Crassus very courteously. And to give colour to this bruit, he called his men from fight, and going himself in person towards Crassus, with the chiefest of the nobility of his host, in quiet manner, his bow unbent: he held out his right hand, and called Crassus to talk with him of peace, and said unto him: Though the Romans had felt the force and power of their king, it was against his will, for he could do no less but defend himself: howbeit that now he was very willing and desirous to make them taste of his mercy and clemency, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go safely where they would. All the Romans besides Crassus were glad of Surena's words. But Crassus that had been deceived before by their crafty fetches and devices, considering also no cause apparent to make them change thus sodainly: would not hearken to it, but first consulted with his friends. Howbeit the soldiers they cried out on him to go, and fell at words with him, saying: that he cared not though they were all slain, and that himself had not the heart only to come down and talk with the enemies that were unarmed. Crassus proved first to pacify them by fair means, persuading them to bear a little patience but till night, which was at hand, and then they might safely depart at their pleasure, and recover the mountains and strait passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint hearted, nor to despair of their safety, seeing they were so near it. But in the end Crassus perceiving they fell to mutiny, and

Surena's crafty speech to Crassus

Crassus' words to the Romans going to his death

beating of their harness did threaten him if he went not, fearing then they would do him some villainy: went towards the enemy, and coming back a little, said only these words: "O Octavius, and you Petronius, with all you Roman gentlemen that have charge in this army: you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, and can witness with me, how I am driven with shame and force. Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this danger, that ye will report wheresoever you come, that Crassus was slain, not delivered up by his own soldiers into the hands of the barbarous people, as I am: but deceived by the fraud and subtilty of his enemies." Octavius would not tarry behind on the hill, but went down with Crassus: but Crassus sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the Parthians unto Crassus were two mongrel Grecians, who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to send some of his men before, and Surena would shew them, that both himself and his train came unarmed towards him. Crassus thereto made them answer, that if he had made any account of his life, he would not have put himself into their hands. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before, called the Roscians, to know what number of men, and to what end they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to Surena, but they were stayed: and himself in the meantime kept on his way ahorseback, with the noblest men of his army. Now when Surena came near to Crassus: Why, how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? a Consul and Lieutenant-general of Rome afoot, and

we ahorseback? Therewithal he straight commanded one of his men to bring him a horse. Crassus answered Surena again: In that, they neither of both offended, following the use and manner of their country, when any meeting is made for treaty of peace. Surena replied: As for the treaty of peace, that was already agreed upon between the king Hyrodes, and the Romans: howbeit that they were to go to the river, and there to set down the articles in writing. For you Romans, said he, do not greatly remember the capitulations you have agreed upon. With those words he gave him his right hand. As Crassus was sending for a horse, you shall not need, said Surena, for look, the king doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steel saddle richly gilt, upon the which his gentlemen mounted Crassus immediately, and following him behind, lashed his horse to make him run the swifter. Octavius seeing that, first laid hand on the bridle, then Petronius colonel of a thousand footmen: and after them, all the rest of the Romans also gathered about Crassus to stay the horse, and to take him from them by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at another at the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blows. Then Octavius drew out his sword, and slew one of the barbarous noblemen's horsekeepers, and another came behind him, and slew Octavius. Petronius had no target, and receiving a blow on his cuirass, lighted from his horse, and had no hurt: and on the other side came Pomaxathres, one of the Parthians, and slew Crassus. Some say notwithstanding, that Pomaxathres slew

Crassus slain

The number of the Romans that were slain and taken

him not, but another, yet that he cut off his head and his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reports are rather conjectures, than any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slain in the field fighting for Crassus, and others saved themselves by flying to the hill. The Parthians followed them, and told them that Crassus had paid the pain he had deserved: and for the rest, that Surena bade them come down with safety. Then some of them yielded to their enemies: and other dispersed themselves when night came, and of them very few escaped with life. Other being followed and pursued by the Arabians, were all put to the sword. So as it is thought there were slain in this overthrow, about twenty thousand men, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Surena had now sent Crassus' head and his hand unto Hyrodes, the king his maister, into Armenia: and gave out a bruit as far as the city of Seleucia, that he brought Crassus alive, and that he had prepared a sight to laugh at, which he called his triumph. Among the Roman prisoners there was one called Caius Paccianus, who was very like Crassus: him they clothed in woman's apparel of the Parthians, and had taught him to answer, when any called him Crassus, or lord captain. Him they put ahorseback, and had many trumpets before him, and sergeants upon camels' backs, that carried axes before them, and bundles of rods, and many purses tied to the bundles of rods, and Romans' heads newly cut off, tied to the axes: and after him followed all the strumpets and women minstrels of Seleucia, who went singing of songs of mockery and derision of

Crassus' womanish cowardliness. Now for these open shews, every one might see them: but besides that sight, Surena having called the Senate of Seleucia together, laid before them Aristides' books of ribaldry, entitled the Milesians, which was no fable, for they were found in a Roman's fardle or truss, called Rustius. This gave Surena great cause to scorn and despise the behaviour of the Romans, which was so far out of order, that even in the wars they could not refrain from doing evil, and from the reading of such vile books. Then the senators of Seleucia found that Æsop was a wise man, who said, that every man carried a sack on his neck, and that they put other men's faults at the sack's mouth, and their own towards the bottom of the sack. When they considered that Surena had put the book of the lasciviousness of the Milesians at the sack's mouth, and a long tale of the Parthians' vain pleasures and delights in the bottom of the sack, carrying such a number of carts loden with naughty packs in his army as he did, which seemed an army of ermites and field mice. For in the voward and foremost ranks, all appeared terrible and cruel, being only lances, pikes, bows, and horse: but all they ended afterwards in the rearward with a train of harlots, instruments of music, dancing, singing, banqueting, and rioting all night with curtesans. I will not deny but Rustius deserved blame: but yet withal, I say, that the Parthians were shameless to reprove these books of the vanities of the Milesians, considering that many of their kings, and of the royal blood of the Arsacides, were born of the Ionian and Milesian courtesans. Things passing thus in

The description of Surena's army

Crassus' head brought to Hyrodes

this sort, King Hyrodes had made peace and league with Artabazes king of Armenia, who gave his sister in marriage unto Pacorus, King Hyrodes' son, and made great feasts one to another: in the which were many Greek verses sung, Hyrodes self understanding well the Greek tongue, and Artabazes was so perfect in it, that he himself made certain tragedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night Crassus' head was brought, the tables being all taken up, Jason a common player of interludes (born in the city of Tralles) came before the kings, and recited a place of the tragedy of the Bacchants of Euripides, telling of the misfortune of Agave, who strake off his son's head. And as every man took great pleasure to hear him, Syllaces coming into the hall, after his humble duty first done to the king, delivered him Crassus' head before them all. The Parthians seeing that, fell a-clapping of their hands, and made an outcry of joy. The gentlemen ushers by the king's commandment, did set Syllaces at the table. Jason casting off his apparel representing Pentheus' person, gave it to another player to put it on him, and counterfeiting the Bacchants possest with fury, began to rehearse these verses, with a gesture, tune, and voice, of a man mad, and beside himself:

> Behold, we from the forest bring a stag now newly slain,
> A worthy booty and reward beseeming well our pain.

This marvellously pleased the company: and specially singing these verses afterwards, where the chorus both asked and answered himself:

Who strake this stag?
None else but I thereof may brag.

See the reward of craft and perjury

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the table with others, rose straight, and went and took the head himself, to whom of right it belonged to say those words, and not unto the player that spake them. King Hyrodes liked this sport marvellously, and rewarded Pomaxathres according to the manner of the country in such a case: and to Jason he also gave a talent. Such was the success of Crassus' enterprise and voyage, much like unto the end of a tragedy. But afterwards, Hyrodes' cruelty, and Surena's foul perjury and craft, were in the end justly revenged upon them both, according to their deserts. For King Hyrodes envying Surena's glory, put Surena to death. And Hyrodes fell into a disease that became a dropsy, after he had lost his son Pacorus, who was slain in a battell by the Romans. Phraates his second son, thinking to set his father forwards, gave him drink of the juice of aconitum The dropsy received the poison, and one drave the other out of Hyrodes' body, and set him afoot again. Phraates perceiving his father to amend upon it, to make short work, with his own hands strangled him.

THE COMPARISON OF
CRASSUS WITH NICIAS

Nicias' and Crassus' riches

But now to proceed to the comparison: first, Nicias' goods were more justly gotten, and with less reproach, than Crassus' wealth, for otherwise a man cannot give any great praise to mineral works, the which are wrought by lewd and ill-disposed barbarous fellows kept in irons, and toiled to death in unwholesome and pestilent places. But being compared unto Crassus' buying of confiscate goods at Sulla's hands, and ungentlemanly bargains of houses on fire, or in danger thereof: surely Nicias' trade will appear the better way of getting. For as openly did Crassus avow usury, as tillage. And again for other faults, wherewith Crassus many times was burthened, and which he stoutly denied: as, that he took money of men having matters before the Senate at Rome, to win favour for their side: and that he preferred matters to the prejudice of the confederates of the Romans, only for his private profit: and therefore carried favour with ladies, and generally sought to cloke all foul offenders: of all these faults, was Nicias never so much as once suspected. For he to the contrary, was mocked of everybody, because for fear he maintained wicked doers by gifts: which perhaps would not have becomed Pericles, nor Aristides, and yet was meet for Nicias, who was

born a timorous natured man, and never had courage in him. Whereof Lycurgus the orator did vaunt afterwards to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractors with money: I am glad, said he, that having dealt thus long in affairs of the state, it is found I have rather given than taken. And now touching expenses: Nicias was thought the better and more civil citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the gods, or in making of public plays or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small part of that Crassus bestowed in an open feast he made at Rome: feasting so many thousands at one time, and did find and maintain them also for a certain time after. Now I cannot but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of manners, repugnant in itself, seeing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goods. For Nicias doings in the common weal, he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor unjustly, neither anything of selfwill or stomach, but rather dealt plainly and simply. For he was deceived by trusting of Alcibiades, and never came to speak before the people, but with great fear. Crassus on the other side was reproved for his unconstancy and lightness, for that he would easily change friends or enemies: and he himself denied not, that he came to be Consul the second time by plain force and cruelty, having hired two murtherers to kill Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly the people held for dividing of the provinces, many men were hurt, and four

Their acts in the common wealth

The duty of governors and magistrates

were slain in the market-place: and more than that, Crassus himself (which we have forgotten to write in his life) gave one Lucius Annalius so sore a blow on the face with his fist, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with blood about his ears. But as Crassus in those things was very fierce and cruel: so Nicias' womanish behaviour on the other side, and faint heart in matters of the common wealth, humbling himself to the meanest and most vile persons, deserveth great reproach. Where Crassus in this respect shewed himself assuredly of a noble mind, not contending with men of small account, as with Cleon, or Hyperbolus, but would give no place to Cæsar's fame and glory, nor yet to Pompey's three triumphs, but sought to go even with them in power and authority: and had immediately before exceeded Pompey's power, in the dignity of Censor. For magistrates, and governors of the common weal, should make themselves to be honoured, but not envied, killing envy by the greatness of their power. But if it were so that Nicias preferred quietness, and the safety of his person above all things else, and that he feared Alcibiades in the pulpit for orations, the Lacedæmonians in the fort of Pyle, and Perdiccas in Thracia: he had liberty and scope enough to repose himself in the city of Athens, and might have forborne the dealing in matters, and (as rhetoricians say) have put a hood of quietness upon his head very well. For doubtless, concerning his desire to make peace, it was a godly mind in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to pass he did, appeasing all war: wherein Crassus certainly was not to be

compared to him, though he had joined all the provinces to the empire of Rome, that reach unto the Caspian sea, and to the great ocean of the Indias. But on the other side also, when one hath to deal with people that can discern when a man ruleth according to equity and justice, and that he seeth he is in the prime of his credit and authority; he must not then for lack of courage suffer wicked men to step in his room, nor give occasion to prefer such to authority in the common weal, as are unworthy for that place and countenance: neither should allow such any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor trust, as Nicias did: who was the only occasion that Cleon, being before but a prattling orator, was chosen general. Neither do I also commend Crassus, for that in the war against Spartacus, he made haste to give him battell, more rashly than safely or considerately. For his ambition spurred him forward, because he was afraid lest Pompey's coming should take from him the glory of all that he had done in that war: as Mummius took from Metellus the honour of the winning of Corinth. But besides all this, Nicias' fact therein was without the compass of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not resign his honour and office of general to Cleon his enemy, when there was hope of good success, or little peril: but fearing the danger of the journey, he was contented to save one, and took no care besides for the common wealth. Which Themistocles shewed not, in the time of the war against the Persians. For he, to keep Epicydes an orator (a man of no reckoning beside his eloquence, and extremely covetous) from being chosen general of Athens, lest he

Nicias' fearfulness

Nicias' honesty

should have overthrown the common weal: secretly bribed him with money to leave off his suit. And Cato also when he saw the state of Rome in greatest danger, sued to be Tribune of the people for the common wealth's sake. And Nicias in contrary manner, reserving himself to make war with the city of Minoa, or with the isle of Cythera, or with the poor unfortunate Melians, if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the Lacedæmonians, then away went his captain's cloke, and he left the ships, the army, and munition to the charge and government of Cleon's rashness and small experience of war, when the necessity of the service required the wisest and most expert captain. The which he did not, despising the means to make him honoured: but it was a plain drawing back, at time of need, to defend his country. Wherefore, afterwards he was compelled against his will to be general, to make wars in Sicilia with the Syracusans: because the people thought he was not so earnest to dissuade the journey, for that he thought it not meet for the common wealth, but because through his sloth and cowardliness he would make his country lose so good an opportunity to conquer Sicily. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he ever hated war, and did fly from the offices of honour and charge in the common wealth, his countrymen notwithstanding did always choose him, as the most experienced person, and meetest man of the city. Now Crassus in contrary manner desiring nothing else but to be general, could never attain to it, but in the war of the bondmen, and yet

was it for lack of another: (for Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus were then abroad in the wars) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authority. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his friends that loved him best, thought him (as the comical poet sayeth)

The diversity betwixt Nicias and Crassus

A good man any way else, but in wars.

His ambition notwithstanding and covetous desire of rule, did nothing benefit the Romans. For the Athenians sent Nicias to the war against his will: but Crassus led the Romans thither against their wills. So that the common wealth fell into misery by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into misery: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise Nicias, than to blame Crassus. For Nicias like a wise man, and a captain of great experience, could never so much as be brought to think they should conquer Sicily: and therefore dissuaded his countrymen from the journey, and would give no place to the vain hope of the people of Athens. But Crassus taking upon him to make wars with the Parthians, as though it had been an easy matter to overcome them, found himself deceived, yet did he aspire to great things. For as Julius Cæsar had conquered and subdued to the imperial crown of Rome, all the countries of the west parts, to say the Gauls, the Germans, and England: even so did Crassus desire to go towards the east parts, to conquer all to the great west sea of the Indias, and to subdue all the regions of Asia, whereunto Pompey and Lucullus aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as ever

A conqueror must not stick at trifles

courteously behaved themselves to all men: notwithstanding, provoked thereunto with the like desire that Crassus had. For when the charge of the wars in the east parts was assigned to Pompey, by decree and order of the people: the Senate utterly misliked it, and were against it all they could. When news were brought to Rome that Julius Cæsar in battell had overthrown and slain three hundred thousand Germans, Cato persuading with the Senate, was yet still of this mind, that Cæsar should be delivered into the hands of his enemies whom he had overcome, for to be punished: thereby to turn the sharp revenge and wrath of the gods from Rome, upon him only, that was the unjust breaker of peace. This notwithstanding, the people making none account of Cato's persuasions, made common feasts and processions fifteen days together, and open sacrifices to the gods with great joy through the city, to thank them for this famous victory. How glad may we think would they have been, and how many days would they have feasted and sacrificed, if Crassus had written from Babylon of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realms of the Medes, of the Persians, of the Hyrcanians, of Suse, and of the Bactrians, and that he had made new governments and provinces to the Empire of Rome?

If a man will needs do wrong and injustice,

As Euripides sayeth to them, that cannot live in peace, and be contented with their own: he must not then stick at trifles, (as razing of a castle of Scandea, or of a city of Mendé, or chasing of

the Æginetes being out of their own natural country, and hiding themselves like birds without nests, in another bird's holes) but must dearly sell the wrong he doeth, and not lightly contemn justice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of Alexander the Great in his voyage, for the conquests he made in the east, and do dispraise Crassus' voyage: do not well to judge of the beginning, by the events and success of the end. For executing of their offices, Nicias did many noble exploits. For he overthrew his enemies in divers battels, and had almost taken the city of Syracusa: and sure they cannot justly blame him for all the misfortunes that chanced in the war of Sicilia, but partly the plague was a cause of it, and partly also the envy of those towards him that remained at Athens. Whereas Crassus ran into so many errors, and committed such foul parts in all his voyage, that he gave fortune no leisure to do him good: so that I wonder not so much that his folly was overcome by the power of the Parthians, as that it could overcome the good fortune of the Romans. Sithence it so falleth out then, that they both came to like unfortunate end, Nicias prognosticating before what things should happen by art and rule of divination, and Crassus contrarily disdaining to observe anything: sure it falleth out hard in judgement, which of them two proceeded with most safety. Yet according to the best approved opinions, a fault committed of fear is more excusable, than of rashness and folly to break any ancient law or custom. For their deaths, Crassus' end deserved least reproach. For he against his will did yield himself, and was

Crassus by his folly blemished the happiness of the Romans

Crassus and Nicias' death

neither bound nor mocked, but only persuaded by his friends, and through his enemies' fraud and treason most traitorously deceived: where Nicias, cowardly, and dishonourably hoping to save his life, trusting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

THE END OF CRASSUS' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF SERTORIUS

Why chances of necessity happen one like another

PERADVENTURE it is not to be marvelled at, if in long process of time (fortune altering her effects daily) these worldly events fall often out one like another. For whether it be that the variety of things are infinite, fortune hath store of matter apt enough to work to likeness: or be it that worldly matters be comprehended within determinate number: of necessity one thing must fall out like another, since they proceed from one cause, tied to the same means it before did use. But because men do delight to compare such chances together, as they have seen or heard to have happened so like, as if they had been done of purpose, the one by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named Attis, both of them come of noble houses, the one in Syria, and the other in Arcadia, both the one and the other were slain with a wild boar. That of two called Actæon, the one was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers. That of the two famous Scipios, the Carthaginians were first overcome by the one, and afterwards utterly destroyed by the other. That the city of Troy was first taken by Hercules, for the horses that Laomedon had promised him: the second time by Agamemnon, by means of the great wooden horse: and the third time by Charidemus,

The praise of Sertorius

by means of a horse that fell within the gate, and kept the Troyans that they could not shut it in time. And that of two sweet smelling plants, Ios, and Smyrna, two cities were named, the one signifying the violet, and the other myrrh: it is supposed that the poet Homer was born in the one, and that he died in the other) we may also add to this example, that amongst the ancient captains, the greatest warriors, and that have done the noblest exploits by wit and warlike stratagems, had but one eye: as Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal and Sertorius also, whom we write of at this present. Whom we may truly report to have been more chaste, than Philip: more faithful to his friend than Antigonus: more courteous to his enemies than Hannibal: and for wisdom and judgement to give place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed her spite more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was equal with Metellus, in prowess and valiancy with Pompey, and in fortune with Sulla. So that being banished his country, a stranger in another realm, and having to govern a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained wars for a time, against the power of the Romans. Methinks therefore, that of all the Grecian captains I can liken none so well unto him as Eumenes the Cardian. For both of them knew how to command, both were very valiant and politic in wars, both were banished men out of their country, both were captains over strangers, and both of them were traitorously and villainously slain by them, through whom they had before overcome their enemies. Now for Sertorius,

The parentage of Sertorius

he came of worshipful parents, and was born in the city of Nurtia in the country of the Sabines. His father left him a very child with his mother, who carefully brought him up, and whom he singularly loved and reverenced. Her name as they say was Rhea. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: insomuch as being a young man he came to Rome, and wan some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honour and estimation he achieved afterwards by his valiant acts, made him employ all his study and ambitious care, to arms and wars. The first time of his soldierfare was, when the Cimbri and Teutons invaded Gaul with a mighty army: where, when the Romans had been overcome under the leading of Cæpio, his horse being slain under him, and himself hurt, he notwithstanding swam over the river of Rhone, with his corslet and target upon him, breaking the fury and rage of the river with mere strength, so able and lusty a body he had to brook all pains and hardness. The second time that these barbarous Cimbri returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with proud and dreadful threats: the Romans were then so afraid that they thought him a stout man that had but the courage to keep his rank, and obey his captain. At that time was Marius general of the Roman army, and then did Sertorius undertake to go and discover the enemies' camp. And for the purpose, apparelled himself like a Gaul, and learned the common words and phrases of their language, to salute one another when they met, and in this sort went among them: and having partly by sight and

Sertorius' soldier-fare under Marius

report learned that he sought for, he returned to Marius, who then gave him such honourable reward, as was due to his desert. All the time of the wars after, he did such valiant acts and deeds of arms, that his captain had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon the wars being ended with the Teutons and Cimbri, Sertorius was sent into Spain, under Didius the prætor, with charge of a thousand footmen, with whom he wintered in the city of Castulo, in the marches of the Celtiberians: where the soldiers finding plenty of victuals, fell to gluttony and drunkenness, and committed great insolency, being overcome with wine. Insomuch as the barbarous people of the city grew to such a misliking and disdain of them, that they sent one night to their next neighbours the Gyriscœnians for aid, and as they came by the Romans' lodgings, slew a great number of them. Sertorius hearing the noise, went immediately out of the city with a few of his men, and gathering them together also that fled one after another to save themselves, went round about the walls of the city, and finding the gate open where the Gyriscœnians came in, there entered he also: who being more careful than they had shewed themselves, left the gates, and all the parts of the city well guarded, and then put all to the sword within that were of age to carry weapon. Now when he had executed this revenge, he commanded all his soldiers to leave off their own apparel and weapons, and to take these of the barbarous people whom they had slain, and to follow him to the city of the Gyriscœnians, from whence they came that had on such a sudden assailed them in the night. The

Gyriscenians seeing the garments and weapons of their supposed men far off, thinking certainly they had been they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meet their friends and citizens, whom they thought had happily sped of their purpose. Thus were a marvellous number of them slain by the Romans, even hard at the gates of their city: and the rest putting themselves to Sertorius' mercy, he sold for slaves. After this exploit, Sertorius wan great fame through all Spain, and returning to Rome, was made Questor or treasurer-general of Gaul, on this side of the mountains, by the river of Po. A happy chance for Rome: for even at that very present time fell out the wars of the confederates and allies of Italy, called the Marsians' war, in the which he had commission to prest soldiers, and to make armour. And therein he shewed such diligence and expedition for quick despatch of that service, in respect of the long delay and careless regard other young men had of the same before: that he won the name to be a careful man of his charge, and one that afterwards would achieve great enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to be a captain himself, he would not let to venture his person as valiantly, as any other private soldier whatsoever, but did marvellous acts with his own hands, even in greatest perils and conflicts: insomuch as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, said he, do not always carry the marks about them of their valiant service, but leave them otherwhiles at home, as their chains, carcanets, javelins, and crowns, given them by their captains for

Sertorius treasurer-general of Gaul

Sertorius took part with Cinna

testimony of their valiancy: howbeit that he always carried the marks about him (wheresoever he went) of his service, so that such as saw the blemish of his eye, did therewithal witness his valiantness and courage. The people also did honour him as became them. For when he came into the theatre, they welcomed him with clapping of their hands, and great praises, which the Romans did scantly use unto their oldest captains, and which were most honoured for their great and noble service. Nevertheless, when he sued to be Tribune, he was rejected by Sulla's practice who hindered him: whereupon grew, as it seemeth, that grudge and malice which he ever after bare unto Sulla. For after that Marius was fled being overcome by Sulla, and that Sulla was gone out of Italy to make war with Mithridates, and that of the two Consuls, Octavius took part with Sulla, and Cinna the other Consul (which sought change and alteration) was gathering men together to set up Marius' faction, that was in manner under foot: Sertorius took his part, because he saw that Octavius was but a slow and lither man, and did not besides trust any of Marius' friends. So was there a cruel conflict between them, even in the market-place within the city self, where Octavius had the upper hand: and Cinna and Sertorius scaped by flying, having lost few less than ten thousand men in this only overthrow. Nevertheless, afterwards through practice and policy, they got those soldiers together again that were dispersed here and there through Italy, so as in short time they made their power equal with Octavius' force. Marius also being advertised of the same, took the sea incontinently, and returned into Italy out of

Africk, and came to Cinna to serve as a private soldier, under his captain and Consul. Now they all liked well, that Marius should be received, saving Sertorius, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, Cinna having a worthier captain than himself to serve him, or else that Marius' cruelty and severity (who pardoned none offence) would mar all together, having no stay in his anger, but bent utterly to all kind of cruelty to his enemies, if Cinna fortuned to have the victory. And thereunto he added this further: that now they had the victory in manner in their hands, if they once received Marius unto them, he would rob them of all the honour of ending this war, and being also in authority, he was neither to be trusted nor commanded. Whereunto Cinna answered thus: that he thought the words he had alleged to be true, howbeit that he was ashamed, and besides, could not see with honesty how he might refuse Marius, or send him back, sithence he had purposely sent for him, to commit part of the charge of these wars unto him. Sertorius again replied: Sure I thought Marius had come of his own goodwill unsent for, and therefore (as for the best in mine own opinion) I gave advice not to receive him: but sithence it is so that you sent for him before, and that he is now come upon your commandment, you were much to blame to ask counsel whether you should now receive him or not. And therefore you must needs accept his service, that is come upon your word: for, the bond of your promise past you, doth now cut off all counsel or other resolution. Thereupon Marius was called for: and when he came, they divided

Sertorius dissuaded Cinna to receive Marius

Sertorius slew Marius' guard of bondmen

their whole army into three parts, and then began to charge upon their enemies of all hands, so as they obtained victory. Howbeit Cinna and Marius committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could possibly be shewed: insomuch as the Romans thought all the miseries they had endured in time of this war nothing, and but a play as it were, in respect of the great calamities they fell into afterwards. Now Sertorius on the other side never caused man to be slain for any private malice or quarrel he had with any person, neither did he hurt any man when he had overcome, but was much offended with Marius' insolency and cruel murthers: and when he had good opportunity to speak with Cinna apart, he did qualify him the best he could, and made him more mild and tractable through his persuasion. In fine, Sertorius seeing Marius guarded with a great number of bondmen for lack of other soldiers in this war, whom he used as executioners of his slaughter and butchery, always attending about his person as a guard, and suffering them also to make themselves rich, partly with that he gave them, or commanded them to spoil, and partly also with that they violently took without his commandment of their own maisters, killing them when they had done, ravishing their mistresses, and defiling their children: he could no longer abide such wickedness and villainy, but made them all to be slain in their camp where they lay together, being no less than four thousand persons. Afterwards when he saw that the elder Marius was dead, and that soon after Cinna was slain, the younger Marius his son (against his counsel, and contrary to the laws of Rome) had by force made himself Consul:

and that Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus (which had been overcome by Sulla) were come out of Greece to Romewards, partly through the cowardliness of their captains, and partly also because they were betrayed and sold of their own men: and further, considering therewithal, that his person could do no good in those affairs which waxed worse and worse, by means of the authority of such as had least wit and understanding, and specially also seeing Sulla camp hard by Scipio, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilst underhand he wan his soldiers from him, notwithstanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: Sertorius then utterly despairing of Rome's prosperity and welfare, departed from Rome to go towards Spain, thinking that if he could get the first possession and government of that realm, it would at the least be a refuge and receipt for all those of their tribe, that should chance to be banished out of their country. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foul and rough weather: and passing through a country of mountains, the barbarous people inhabiting the same, demanded tribute of him, for license to pass through their territories. Thereat the soldiers of his company were marvellously offended, saying: that it were too much shame and dishonour for a Proconsul of Rome, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithstanding, Sertorius passed not for the shame they said it would be to him but answered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should most reckon of, that aspireth to haughty enterprises: and so pleased the barbarous people with money. And thus he made such speed, as he quickly recovered Spain, which he found

Sertorius went into Spain

Sertorius' courtesy to the Spaniards

greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to wear armour. But now Sertorius perceiving that they had been hardly dealt withal before, through the insolency, pride, and covetousness of the Roman governors, whom they ordinarily sent from Rome, and that therefore they hated all manner of government: first of all sought to win the goodwills of all the whole countrymen one and other. Of the noblemen, by being familiar and conversant with them: and of the common people, by easing them of their tax and subsidies. But that which bred him most love of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of soldiers, and receiving of any garrison within their cities, compelling his soldiers to set up their tents, and to make their cabins without the suburbs of great cities to winter there, and causing also his own pavilion to be first set up, and lay in it himself in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their favour: for he armed all the Roman citizens of age to carry weapon that dwelt in Spain, and made them make all sorts of engines for battery, and a number of galleys besides, so that he had all the cities at commandment, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadful to his enemies. After Sertorius understood that Sulla kept Rome, and that the most part of the tribe of Marius and Carbo was utterly overthrown, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some captain with a great army against him: he sent Julius Salinator betimes to keep the mountains Pyrenei, with six thousand

men well armed. Immediately after Caius Annius also came thither, sent by Sulla: who seeing no possibility to distress Salinator in a place of such advantage, was driven to stay at the foot of the mountain, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one Calpurnius surnamed Lanarius, traitorously slew Salinator: whereupon his soldiers forthwith forsook the top of the mountains, and by this means Annius had easy passage with his army which was very great, and overthrew them that resisted his farther coming on into the country. Sertorius finding himself not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thousand men unto the city of new Carthage, and there took sea: from thence he coasted over into Africk, and fell with the coast of the Maurusians, where his soldiers landed immediately for fresh water, dispersing themselves without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gave a charge upon them, and slew numbers of them: insomuch as Sertorius was driven to embark again, and to take his course towards Spain, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driven to take certain pirates' boats of the Cilicians, and to sail towards the isle of Pityusa, where he landed in despite of Annius' garrison, and put them to distress. But shortly after came Annius thither himself with a good number of ships, and five thousand fighting men in them. Him Sertorius determined to abide, and to fight withal by sea, though he had but small barks, purposely made for swift sailing, and of no strength for fight. But now the west wind rising very big, did swell the sea in such sort, that it cast the most part of Sertorius' ships (being weak and very light)

Sertorius flieth out of Spain into Africk

The Fortunate Islands

upon rocks in the sea, and himself with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the sea by storm was driven to ride ten days together at anker, working still for life against the danger of the surging waves and boisterous winds, which continued rough all that time: yet in the end when it calmed again he weighed anker, and ran into certain desolate isles, where was no water to be had. Then hoising sail from thence, he passed the strait of Gibraltar, and turning on his right hand, landed upon the coast of Spain, lying towards the great western sea, a little above the mouth of the river of Bætis, the which falling into the sea Atlanticum, gave name in old time to that part of Spain, which was called Hispania Bætica. There certain sailors met with him that were newly arrived from the isles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the ancients called, the Fortunate Islands. These two islands are not far one from another, being but a little arm of the sea between them, and are from the coast of Africk only ten thousand furlongs. They have rain there very seldom, howbeit a gentle wind commonly that bloweth in a little silver dew, which moistneth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lusty, not only to bring forth all that is set or sown upon it, but of itself without man's hand it beareth so good fruit, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling upon it, living idly, and taking no pains. The weather is fair and pleasant continually, and never hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the year are so temperate, and the air never extreme: because the winds that blow upon that land from the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the north and easterly

wind coming from the main, what with their long coming, and then by dispersing themselves into a wonderful large air and great sea, their strength is in manner spent and gone before their coming thither. And for the winds that blow from the sea (as the south and westerly) they sometime bring little showers with them which commonly do but moist the ground a little, and make the earth bring forth all things very trimly: insomuch as the very barbarous people themselves do faithfully believe, that there are the Elysian fields, the abode of blessed creatures, which Homer hath so much spoken of. Sertorius hearing report of these islands (upon a certain desire now to live quietly out of tyranny and wars) had straight a marvellous mind to go dwell there. But when the pirates of Cilicia (who were no men of peace, but given altogether to spoil and pillage) heard that: they by and by forsook Sertorius, and went into Africk, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to his realm of Mauritania again. Sertorius quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aid them that made war against Ascalis, and all to the end that his soldiers seeing matter of new hope and means to be employed, should not so leave him, being faced afterwards to be discharged of very necessity. The Maurusians being very glad of his arrival, he presently went on with his enterprise, overcame Ascalis in battell, and besieged the city whereinto upon the overthrow of his army he was fled for refuge. Sulla being advertised thereof, sent Paccianus thither with an army to aid Ascalis. Sertorius gave him battell, slew him in the field, and wan the rest of his army, which

The Elysian fields

Sertorius wan the city of Tingis

yielded unto him: then took he the city of Tingis, whereinto Ascalis was fled with his brethren. The Libyans write that Antæus is buried there. But Sertorius giving no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that country, by reason of the greatness of the tomb they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the body of a man (as they say) of threescore cubits long, he marvelled at it, and so finishing his sacrifice to honour the memory thereof, caused the tomb to be well closed up again. By this act he did greatly increase the honour of Antæus' memory, which the city did unto him, and thereby confirmed the countrymen's report of Antæus. For the Tingians do report, that after Antæus' death, his wife Tinga lay with Hercules, and had a goodly son by him called Sophax, who was king of that country, and there built this city, giving it his mother's name. Furthermore, it is said also that this Sophax had a son called Diodorus, who conquered the most part of Africk with an army of the Grecian Olbianians and Mycenians, which Hercules brought thither to inhabit those parts. We were willing to embrace the occasion offered us to speak of this matter as we went, for the honour of Juba, the noblest historiographer that ever came of royal blood: for it is thought his ancestors were lineally descended from Sophax and this Diodorus. Sertorius as conqueror now, having the whole country in subjection, did in no wise hurt them that yielded unto him, and put trust in him, but restored them their goods, cities, and government again, contenting himself with that they offered him of their goodwills. But then standing doubtful

what way to determine: the Lusitanians sent ambassadors unto him, to entreat him to be their chieftain. For they stood in great need of a worthy personage, and a man expert in wars to defend them against the fury of the Romans: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honourable behaviour by them that were conversant with him. Whose qualities as we find written, were these. He was never greatly moved, with fear nor joy: but as he was a resolute man without fear in most danger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperity. In valiantness inferior to no captain of his time, and very quick of execution in every imminent danger. For where any present exploit was to be done, any strong place of advantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to pass over any river, or scape any instant danger, where it stood upon speedy execution, and to show some stratagem or policy in time and place to supplant the enemy: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountiful in rewarding good service, and merciful in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the foul murther he did in his latter days upon certain young children that were pledges with him (which doubtless was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgive) doth manifestly prove, that he was neither merciful nor courteous of nature: but that he many times did finely counterfeit it, when both the time and the wars did so require it. But for mine opinion, sure I am persuaded that no misfortune can have power to make perfect vertue, grounded upon good reason, to work in any sort contrary to itself: neither do I think it impossible also, but that men's good

Sertorius' virtues and qualities

Sertorius' feigned lie

wills and gentle natures being injured without cause, may peradventure change their natural dispositions. Which then proved true in Sertorius, who finding fortune contrary unto him, and his good hap changed into ill, grew so crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruel revenge of them which had villainously betrayed him. But now to our matter where we left. Sertorius departed out of Africk upon the Lusitanians' offer, who chose him for their general, giving him absolute power and authority: and so soon as he arrived, he straight levied men of war, and with them subdued the people of Spain fronting upon their marches, of which the more part did willingly submit themselves, upon the bruit that ran of him to be merciful and courteous, and a valiant man besides in present danger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine devices and subtilties to win their goodwills: as among others, the policy and device he had of the hind, which was this. There was a poor man of the country called Spanus, who meeting by chance one day with a hind in his way that had newly calved, flying from the hunters: he let the dam go not being able to take her, and running after her calf took it, which was a young hind, and of a strange hair, for she was all milk white. It chanced so, that Sertorius was at that time in those parts, who was always very glad when any man offered him such manner of presents; as fruits, fowl, or venison, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the same. So, this poor man presented Sertorius with his young hind, which he gladly received, and which with time he made so

tame, that she would come to him when he called her, and follow him wherever he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily sight of such a number of armed soldiers together as they were, nor yet affraid of the noise and tumult of the camp. Insomuch as Sertorius by little and little made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous people believe that it was a gift that Diana had sent him, by the which she made him understand of many and sundry things to come: knowing well enough of himself, that the barbarous people were men easily deceived, and quickly caught by any subtle superstition, besides that by art also he brought them to believe it as a thing very true. For when he had any secret intelligence given him, that the enemies would invade some part of the countries and provinces subject unto him, or that they had taken any of his forts from him by any intelligence or sudden attempt: he straight told them that his hind spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arm his men, and put himself in strength. In like manner if he had heard any news that one of his lieutenants had won a battell, or that he had any advantage of his enemies, he would hide the messenger, and bring his hind abroad with a garland and collar of nosegays: and then say it was a token of some good news coming towards him, persuading them withal to be of good cheer, and so did sacrifice to the gods, to give them thanks for the good tidings he should hear before it were long. Thus by putting this superstition into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, insomuch as they thought they were not now governed any more by a stranger

of the hind

Sertorius' army

wiser than themselves, but were steadfastly persuaded that they were rather led by some certain god: and so much the more, because that his deeds confirmed their opinions, seeing his power so daily to increase beyond the hope and expectation of man. For with two thousand five hundred soldiers, which he called Romans (although the most of them indeed were Africans, which came over with him out of Africk into Spain) and four thousand Lusitanians, with seven hundred horsemen also, he made war against four great captains of Rome, which had the leading of six score thousand footmen, two thousand archers and slingmen, with a world of cities and countries besides. Where Sertorius at the first had not above twenty at the most: and yet with this small power to maintain this war withal, he did not only conquer great countries and many goodly cities, but took some of the captains prisoners also, whom the Romans sent against him. Of which company Cotta was one, whom he overthrew in battell by sea, not far from the city of Mellaria. He also overcame Fidius in battell, being governor of Spain Bætica, by the river of Bætis, where he slew two thousand Romans. By his treasurer likewise he overcame Lucius Domitius, Proconsul of the other province of Spain. And another time he discomfited Toranius another captain, one of Metellus' lieutenants, whom he slew in fight with all his army. And Metellus self, being taken at that time for one of the most expert men of war, and chiefest captains among the Romans: him he put also so oft to distress, that Lucius Lollius was fain to come out of Gaul Narbonensis (now Languedock) to aid. And they were further-

more driven to send Pompey the Great with all speed from Rome with a new army. Because Metellus knew not what course to take, having to fight with a most valiant man, and one whom he could never either bring to any set battell, nor yet entrap in the plain field (so easily could he cast himself into all kind of forms) by reason of the dexterity and swiftness of his Spanish soldiers being lightly armed. Where he clean contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without removing a foot, and to lead an army heavy armed, which could keep their ranks, and fighting steadily could overthrow their enemies with handstrokes, and march upon their bellies. But to climb up the mountains, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rearward with these men armed as light as the wind, and to pursue them in chase that fled still, and never kept place: it was unpossible for them to do it, and much less to abide hunger and thirst, to live without a kitchen and fire, and likewise to lie on the bare ground without tents or pavilions, as Sertorius' soldiers did. Furthermore Metellus being grown an old man (having spent all his youth in service of the wars, and taken and suffered great pains and troubles, giving himself now to quiet and pleasure) was matched with Sertorius, being then even at his best age, and lustiest of body, besides that nature had made him both strong, active, and temperate withal. For he was never given to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and out of wars, he was likewise acquainted with pains and hardness from his youth, could away with long journeys, watch many days and nights without

Sertorius warlike virtues

Metellus practised to besiege the Langobrites

sleep, eat little, and content himself with any meat that came to hand. And had he never so little leisure, he would continually be on horseback, riding a-hunting up and down the fields, which made him very ready and expert to know how to wind himself out of danger when he was distressed, and contrarily also to compass in his enemy upon any advantage: and besides, to see where he might enter, and where not. For this cause was Metellus driven (who was still desirous to fight) to abide the losses and discommodities which they suffer that be vanquished: and Sertorius on the other side refusing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they have, which chase their enemies whom they have overcome. For he cut off his victuals on every side, took away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march further forward, Sertorius stayed him. And when he lay still in his camp, Sertorius came and gave him alarums, and drave him to dislodge. If Metellus laid siege to any place, Sertorius straight besieged him for want of victuals: so that his soldiers were even weary of all together. Whereupon, when Sertorius challenged the combat of Metellus: Oh, well said, cried all the soldiers, let captain fight against captain, and Roman against a Roman. Howbeit Metellus refused him, and the soldiers laughed him to scorn. Nevertheless, he did but smile at them, and therein shewed himself a wise man: for as Theophrastus saith, a captain must die as a captain, not like a private soldier. Furthermore, Metellus considering that the Langobrites (who gave great aid unto Sertorius in all services) were easy to be taken for lack of water

(having but one only well in all their city) and that whosoever did besiege that same, should straight be master of all the spring heads of the suburbs about it, hoping thereby to make the city yield unto him within two days at the utmost: he commanded his soldiers to victual themselves for five days only. But Sertorius having intelligence thereof, gave good direction and speedy order to prevent him. For he caused two thousand goats' skins to be filled with water, and promised round sums of money for every skin brought thither. Many Spaniards and Maurusians straight took upon them the enterprise. Thereupon Sertorius choosing the lustiest men among them, sent them away through the mountain, commanding them withal, that when they delivered their goats' skins with water unto the citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might last them the longer which defended the city. Metellus receiving advertisement hereof, was much aggrieved withal, because his soldiers' victuals were well near spent, which they had brought according to his commandment: and therefore he sent Aquinus one of his lieutenants, with six thousand men to get victuals. Sertorius having intelligence of his purpose, presently laid an ambush for his return in a valley full of wood, and bestowed there three thousand men to set upon the rearward, whilst he himself gave charge on the voward. Thus made he Aquinus fly, slew the most part of his men, and took the rest prisoners. Howbeit Aquinus self the captain having lost his weapons and horse, by flying recovered Metellus' camp: who thereupon

Sertorius finely deceived Metellus

Sertorius' subtile policy

was driven with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the Spaniards. For these valiant deeds, was Sertorius wonderfully beloved and honoured of all the barbarous people, and specially because he had made them good soldiers, brought them from their former rude and beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the Roman fashion, to keep their ranks when they fought, to follow their ensign, and to take the signal and word of the battell: insomuch as he made them then appear a goodly army, well taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of thieves and robbers. Furthermore, he divided great store of gold and silver among them, shewing them how they should gild their headpieces, set out their shields and targets with fine workmanship, and also bravely apparel themselves with rich clokes and sleeveless cassocks upon their armour, teaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he marvellously wan the hearts of the barbarous people. Yet did he farther bind them unto him, by that he did unto their children. For he sent generally for all the noblemen's young sons, through all the countries and provinces subject unto him: and brought them to the goodly city of Osca: where he provided them of schoolmaisters to teach them the Greek and Latin tongue: bearing their parents in hand, that it was to no other end, but to make them (when they came to be men) meet to be employed in the service of the common weal, albeit indeed it was but a fine device of him, to have them as hostages for their faith and loyalty towards him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sons apparelled like

Romans, in fair long gowns guarded with purple, to go civilly to the schools: that Sertorius paid for their learning: and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gave rewards unto them that were the best scholars, hanging jewels about their necks, which the Romans call Bulla. Insomuch, that they having a custom at that time in Spain, that such as were about the prince or their chieftain should die with him when he died, that custom of voluntary vow to die with their lord, being called by the barbarous people, devotion: there were very few of their followers and familiars that would vow to die with other captains, but on the other side, thousands commonly followed Sertorius, having vowed to lose their lives with him. And for proof hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was overthrown by a certain city of Spain, the enemies eagerly pursuing him: the Spaniards not regarding their own lives to save his, took him upon their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man upon them, till they put him into the city, who being safe and out of danger, they then looked by running to save themselves the best they could. Thus was Sertorius not only beloved of the Spaniards, but of other soldiers also that came out of Italy. For when Perpenna Vento, being of the same faction, arrived in Spain full of money and with a good number of soldiers, intending to make war in his behalf against Metellus: his soldiers fell out with him, and had none other talk in his camp but of Sertorius. The which spited Perpenna to the heart, being proud and stately by means of his wealth and estate, coming of a noble house.

The Spaniards' love to Sertorius

Perpenna joined with Sertorius

News being come that Pompey was past over the mountains Pyrenei, the soldiers armed themselves, and plucked up their ensigns that were fast in the ground, and cried out upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius, threatening him that if he would not, they would leave him alone, and seek them a captain that could both save himself and them. So was Perpenna forced against his will to follow their minds, and to lead the three and fifty ensigns he had with him, to join with Sertorius' force. Thus became Sertorius' army very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the river of Iberus had yielded unto him. For then came soldiers to him out of all parts, howbeit they were a rash confused multitude of omnigatherum together, having no reason nor patience to abide time, but cried out in fury, to set upon their enemies. This troubled Sertorius much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and persuasion. But when he saw they fell to mutiny, and would needs have their wills, and both without reason and all good order would so go set upon their enemies: he gave them the head, and let them go as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly, but yet took such order and direction, as they should not utterly be cast away, hoping after that to have them the more obedient unto him. And indeed they had their payment as he conjectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, and so brought them safe into his camp. Now to take away the fear and perplexity from them, which this overthrow perhaps had stricken into them: immediately after he caused his whole army to assemble, as purposing to use some speech unto

them. At which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middest among them, the one an old and feeble jade, and the other a goodly lusty horse, which besides other things, had a marvellous fair thick tail. Behind the old lean jade, he set a lusty tall fellow: and behind the goodly horse also, he placed a little wearish man, and seeming to sight to have but small strength. Now upon a sign given them which he had made them privy to, the strong man took the lean horse by the tail with all his might, as if he would have pluckt it off by the stump: and the other wearish man fell to plucking off hair by hair from the great horse tail. So when the strong man had tugged and sweat a great while in vain at the lean horse tail, thinking to have plucked it off, and in the end did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearish wretch on the other side in a short space (and at ease) had left the great horse tail with never a hair on it: Sertorius then rising up, spake in this sort to his soldiers: Do ye not see (my friends and companions) said he, how time and perseverance exceedeth force? and that things unlikely at the first to be overcome by force, are yet in time by little and little obtained. For continuance overcometh all things, and there is no force nor power, but process of time consumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certain help to them that can take opportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwise haste and rashness is as dangerous an enemy as may be, to them that do things of a head without regard. By these common devices wherewith Sertorius daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the opportunity of

A fine device of Sertorius to teach men the benefit of time

Sertorius' wonderful device

time. But of all the stratagems he used in war, that only exceeded all other, which he shewed unto a people called the Characitanians. The people do dwell on the other side of the river of Tagus, and have neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a great high hill, full of hollow caves and deep holes among the rocks, looking towards the north. At the foot of this mountain the valley is a great slimy ground and so rotten, that it is not able to bear a man, but being trodden on, crummeth like white lime, and turneth to dust under his feet. And therefore by means of the same, when those people were afraid of any enemies, or that they had conveyed the goods they had robbed and stoln from their neighbours into those caves, they thought themselves safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was impossible to compel them to come out. Now it chanced that Sertorius flying from Metellus, came and encamped hard by this hill which these barbarous people inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining Metellus had overthrown him. But Sertorius being in a rage with them, and because he would shew that he fled not: took his horse back the next morning, and rode as near to the hill as he could, to view the nature and situation of the place: and when he saw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked up and down, vainly threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and coming to and fro, he perceived the wind raised a great dust, of that brittle earth we have spoken of, and carried it full into the Characitanian's holes, the mouths whereof as we said before, lay full upon the north. This

northern wind which some call Cæcias, is the only wind of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and riseth from the moors and mountains thereabouts, which be continually covered with snow, and then in the heart of sommer is nourished and enforced by the melting of the ice and snow, and so bloweth a jolly cool wind, which refresheth the barbarous people and beasts all the day long. Sertorius marking this with himself, and understanding by the inhabitants thereabouts, that this wind blew commonly among them; commanded his soldiers to gather a great quantity of this light brittle earth together, and to raise a mount of it, right against the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockery of it at the first, thinking Sertorius would have made a mount to have fought with them upon it: howbeit he went on with his work till night came, and then brought his soldiers back again into his camp. The next morning by break of day there was a pretty little wind stirring, that only blew off the top of his forced mount, and the highest part of that mass of earth, as chaff when they winnow corn: and as the sun began to have any power, the north wind also rose, which forthwith filled all the hill with dust. And withal, came Sertorius' soldiers who threw down the hill to the bottom, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all those dry clots of clay in pieces. The horsemen on the other side, they still managed their horses up and down in it, to raise up the greater dust, which the wind carried as soon as it rose, and blew into the caves of these barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and rifts of the rocks. So they having no other vents

against the barbarous people called the Characitanians

Sertorius' deeds against Pompey

nor air any way, but there where the wind blew in upon them: it did so blindfold their eyes, and filled their caves with such a hot stuffing air, that they were almost choked withal, not able to take breath. For when they should draw their breaths, this stuffing air and dust came in at their mouths so fast, that they had much ado to hold out two days, and on the third yielded themselves unto Sertorius' mercy: the which thing did not so much increase his power, as it wan him honour, by policy to have won such an unlikely conquest, which by force could never have been gotten, and where to fight was matter impossible. So long therefore as he made war with Metellus alone, he commonly had the advantage of him, because Metellus was an old man and heavy, and could not resist Sertorius' lusty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a company of thieves and robbers, than to an army of men of war. But afterwards when Pompey was come over the mountains Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped each before other, and that Pompey had shewed him all the stratagems and policies of war possible for a good captain to devise, and he the like unto Pompey: and found that Sertorius had the better of him, both in laying his ambushes, and also in foreseeing to entrap him: then grew the fame of Sertorius to be so great, that even in Rome itself he was thought to be the noblest captain, and of best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was Pompey at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwards also waxed greater, by the noble acts he did under Sulla, who gave him the the surname of Pompey the Great, for that he had deserved honour of triumph, before his

beard was grown. So, when he was come thus into Spain, divers towns and cities subject unto Sertorius, were half in mind to yield unto Pompey: but afterwards they altered again, upon the chance that happened unto the city of Lauron, beyond all expectation. For Sertorius being gone to lay siege to it, Pompey in haste went thither with his army to raise the siege. Near unto the city there was a little hill very commodious to lodge a camp in, and also to distress them of the city: whereupon the one made haste to get it, and the other to keep him from it. Notwithstanding, Sertorius was the first man, and got the hill: and Pompey came even as he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to have made Sertorius sure at that time, being kept in on the one side with the city of Lauron, and with his army on the other. Thereupon he sent unto the citizens, and bade them care for nothing, more than to stand upon their walls at their pleasure, to see Sertorius straitly besieged, who thought to have besieged them. This message being brought to Sertorius, he smiled at it, and said, that he would teach Sulla's young scholar (for so in mockery he called Pompey) that a wise captain should rather see behind than before him: and therewithal he shewed the Lauronitans six thousand footmen well armed, which he had left in his camp when he came to take the hill where he was, to the end that if Pompey came by chance to assail him, they should give a charge upon his rearward. Pompey having found this too late, durst not offer Sertorius battell, fearing to be compassed in behind: and on the other side he was ashamed to forsake the Lauronitans, whom he was driven in

Sertorius' worthy saying of a captain

Sertorius burnt Lauron in Pompey's sight

the end to see utterly spoiled and destroyed before his eyes, and durst not once stir to help them. The barbarous people of the contrary part seeing no hope of aid by him, yielded straight unto Sertorius, who did not only pardon them, but also suffered them to go whither they would. Howbeit he burnt the city, for no anger or cruelty (being a captain that never shewed cruelty in anger) but to shame Pompey withal, and to stop their mouths that made such account of him: and that this bruit might run among the barbarous people, that Pompey himself being present, and might in manner have warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly city of his confederates, neither durst nor could help them. Indeed Sertorius in continuance of this war sustained much loss and great hurt, howbeit it was always through the fault of his lieutenants: for, as touching himself, he was never overthrown, nor those he led. And yet he ever wan more honour in recovering of those battels which his captains lost, than his enemies did that had put them to the worse. As in the battell he wan against Pompey, by the city of Sucron: and in another he wan against Pompey and Metellus both, by the city of Tuttia. And as for the overthrow of Sucron, it is though it came through Pompey's ambition, making the more haste for fear Metellus should be partaker of the honour of his victory: and that was the thing Sertorius looked for, to fight before Metellus came to join with him, and therefore he fought the battell with Pompey towards night, supposing the darkness of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a help to save themselves if they were overcome, and also to chase the enemies

if so it happened they had the upper hand, because they were strangers, and knew not the country. When both battels came to give charge, Sertorius at the first was not directly against Pompey, but against Afranius, who led the left wing of Pompey's battell, and himself was in the right wing of his own battell. Howbeit Sertorius being advertised that the left wing of his own army against the which Pompey fought, was in such distress as they gave back, and could abide no longer, if they were not presently aided: straight left the leading of the right wing, which he assigned over to other of his captains, and ran with all speed possible unto the left wing, which were then even as good as flying. And first he gathered them together again which had turned their backs, and after put those also in good order that were yet a-fighting: and so having encouraged them both with his words, and the presence of his person, he gave a new charge again upon Pompey, more couragiously than before, (who thinking he had already won the field, was then a-chasing such as fled) and came so fiercely upon him, that he put all the whole army of the Romans to flight: insomuch as Pompey himself escaped killing in the field very hardly, being sore hurt, and saved by a strange mean. For the Africans of Sertorius having taken Pompey's horse (which was richly trapped with harness of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among themselves, and fighting for division of the same: in the meantime let Pompey go, and never followed after him. Afranius again on the other side, whilst Sertorius was gone to help the other wing of his battell, made them fly all that stood before him,

Battell betwixt Sertorius and Pompey

Sertorius' mock to Pompey

and followed killing of them even into the trenches of their camp, entering in amongst them that fled, and spoiled the camp being dark night, knowing nothing of Pompey's overthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from spoil. Sertorius also coming thither upon the instant, finding Pompey's men in disorder, slew a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men again, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with Pompey. But receiving intelligence that Metellus was at hand, he sounded the retreat, and dislodged from the place he encamped, saying: Had not that old woman come, I would have whipped that young boy to Rome with rods. Now was Sertorius very heavy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hind: for thereby all his subtilty and fineness to keep the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then specially, when they stood in need of most comfort. But by good hap, certain of his soldiers that had lost themselves in the night, met with the hind in their way, and knowing her by her colour, took her, and brought her back again. Sertorius hearing of her, promised them a good reward, so that they would tell no living creature that they brought her again, and thereupon made her to be secretly kept. Then within a few days after, he came abroad among them, and with a pleasant countenance told the noblemen and chief captains of these barbarous people, how the gods had revealed it to him in his dream, that he should shortly have a marvellous good thing happen to him: and with these words sat down in his chair to give audience. Whereupon they that kept the hind not far from thence,

did secretly let her go. The hind being loose, when she had spied Sertorius, ran straight to his chair with great joy, and put her head betwixt his legs: and laid her mouth in his right hand, as she before was wont to do. Sertorius also made very much of her, and of purpose appeared marvellous glad, shewing such tender affection to the hind, as it seemed the water stood in his eyes for joy. The barbarous people that stood thereby and beheld the same, at the first were much amazed therewith: but afterwards when they had better bethought themselves, for joy they clapped their hands together, and waited upon Sertorius to his lodging with great and joyful shouts, saying, and steadfastly believing, that he was a heavenly creature, and beloved of the gods: whereupon they were marvellously pleased in their minds, and certainly hoped that their affairs should prosper daily better and better. Another time having straited his enemies with scarcity of victuals, in the territory of the Saguntines, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great troups of men to forage the country, to get victuals. Upon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either side, where Memmius was slain, (the valiantest captain Pompey had) courageously fighting in the middest of the battell. Sertorius finding himself the stronger, followed his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstood him, until he came unto Metellus self, who tarried his coming, defending himself more valiantly than was either hoped, or looked for, in a man of his years: insomuch as he was at the last hurt with a partisan. Which was such a dishonour to the Romans, not

Sertorius slew Memmius

Sertorius besieged by Pompey

unto them only that saw it, but unto such also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to forsake their captain, and turning their shame into anger against their enemies: they covered Metellus round about with their shields and targets, and getting him out of the prease and fury of the fight, gave such a fierce onset, as they drave the Spaniards to fly. Thus fortune changing the victory, Sertorius to give his scattered men time to save themselves, and leisure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently levied) to come at their pleasure: fled of purpose into a city of the mountains of strong situation, and there setting a good face of the matter repaired the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing less than to abide there to be besieged, but only to lay a bait for his enemies, coming to besiege the city, hoping they should easily win it, and in the meantime left pursuing of the barbarous people which had thereby good leisure given them to save themselves. Furthermore, they took no order to suppress the new supply that was coming to Sertorius, who had sent out his captains to the next cities and shires adjoining, to levy men, with express commandment, that when they had mustered a convenient number together, they should send them unto him, as they did. So when he understood of their coming, he easily passed through his enemies to meet them, and with them sodainly came back again, and harried his enemies worse than before: sometime cutting their victuals from them by land, through his ambushes and continual subtile policies, being quickly in every place whither they thought to go, with his light army: and on the sea also with

certain pirates' pinnaces, with the which he scoured all the coast upon the seaside. By this means, both the captains his enemies were compelled to sever themselves far one from the other, insomuch as Metellus went to winter in Gaul, Pompey remained in Spain, (in great scarcity of all things for lack of money) to winter in the territories of the Vaccæians, and wrote to the Senate at Rome, that he would return with his army into Italy, if they sent him not money out of hand, for that he had spent all his own daily fighting for the defence of Italy. Thus it was certainly thought at Rome, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey: because he had through his valiancy and great skill brought two of the most famous captains of their time, to great extremity and distress. Then did Metellus shew how much he feared Sertorius, and how he thought him a great and dreadful enemy. For he proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that if any Roman could kill him, he would give him an hundred silver talents, and twenty thousand jugera of land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his country and goods again, buying his death by treason, whom he could not overcome by force. And furthermore, being his chance once to win a battell of Sertorius, he was so jocund and proud for this victory, that he would needs therefore be called Imperator, to say, prince, or sovereign captain: and was contented the people should set up altars and do sacrifices unto him in every city where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlands of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to dissolute banquets, sitting at

Metellus feared Sertorius

Metellus' vanity; Sertorius' noble mind

the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory go up and down the hall, moved by certain secret engines carrying triumphs of gold, and crowns and garlands of triumph, and dancers of goodly young boys and fair girls following of them, with songs of triumph in his praise. Wherein doubtless he deserved to be laughed at, shewing himself so much carried away with joy and vain glory, for one overthrow given unto him, whom himself was wont to call Sulla's fugitive, and the remnant of the banished men of Carbo. On the other side, Sertorius' noble courage was easily discerned, first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped from Rome, and come to him, senators: and having them about him, called them the senate, making some of them treasurers, others prætors, directing and ordering all things according to the manner of his country. And in this also, that making wars with the soldiers of the cities of Spain, and defraying the same at their own charges, yet he never gave them any authority, so much as in word, but ruled them always with Roman officers and captains: saying still, that he fought for the liberty of the people of Rome, and not to increase the glory and power of the Spaniards, to the hurt and dishonour of the Romans. For to say truly of him, he ever loved his country well, and longed much to be sent for home again: and yet in his greatest troubles, when things thwarted him most, then was his mind greatest, yielding no manner of shew or appearance to his enemies, of any faint heart or discouragement in him. Again, when he was in best prosperity, and had most advantage of his enemies, he sent unto Metellus and

Pompey, both letting them understand that for his part he was contented to lay arms aside, and to live at home like a private man, so that he might be lawfully restored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meanest citizen in Rome, than being a banished man out of his country, to be called emperor of the world. And it is said, that one of the chiefest causes which made him desire so much to be called home again, was the tender love he bare unto his mother (that had brought him up from the time of his father's death) upon whom he cast all his love and delight: insomuch as after that his friends in Spain had sent for him to come to be their captain, and that he had been a while among them, receiving news that his mother was departed out of the world, it so struck him to the heart, that he had almost died for sorrow. For he lay seven days together continually on the ground weeping, and never gave his soldiers the watchword, nor would be seen of any of his friends: until that the other noblemen and captains of his own estate, came to him to his tent, and were so importunate of him by entreaty and persuasion, that they got him out of his tent to shew himself to his soldiers, to speak to them, and to take order for his affairs which prospered very well. By these signs many have judged, that he was of a courteous and pitiful nature, and that naturally he was given to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessity to take charge of men of war, because he could not otherwise live quietly nor safely, being pursued by his enemies, which would never let him rest, and thereupon entered into war, for his own guard and

Sertorius' natural love to his mother and his country

Mithridates sent ambassadors to Sertorius

safety. The treaty self he made with King Mithridates, argued his noble mind. For when Mithridates whom Sulla had overcome, was recovered again (like a wrestler that being overthrown getteth up on his feet to try another fall with his enemy) and took upon him to invade Asia: Sertorius' fame was then so great, that he was spoken of through the world, by merchants coming from the west, who blew abroad the report thereof all the east parts over, even into the realm of Pont, like to merchandises which they went to seek for in strange countries. Whereupon Mithridates being persuaded by the vain vaunts of his favoured courtiers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and himself unto King Pyrrhus, saying that the Romans being set upon by them both, could not withstand two such excellent natures, and great powers together, when the noblest captain of the world should be joined with the greatest and most puissant prince that ever was: sent thereupon his ambassadors into Spain unto Sertorius, with full power and commission to promise him money and ships towards the maintenance and charge of this war, in recompense whereof he desired that Sertorius would redeliver him the possession of Asia again, the which he had surrendered up unto the Romans upon the peace made betwixt him and Sulla. Sertorius hereupon called his council together (which he termed the senate) to consult upon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept Mithridates' offers, and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a

title in the air, and a name of things which were not in their power, offering them therefore things present, whereof they had greater need, yet would Sertorius never agree thereunto. Notwithstanding, thus much he granted Mithridates, that he should enjoy Cappadocia and Bithynia, which had ever been countries subject unto kings, and whereunto the Romans had never any right, excepting this specially: that he would never suffer him to usurp any country, unto the which the Romans had any just title, and the which he had lost in wars by force of arms unto Fimbria, and had afterwards also willingly surrendered by agreement made betwixt him and Sulla. For he said he would enlarge the empire of Rome through his victories, but not impair or hurt it by his conquests. For, a valiant man (said he) should covet to conquer with honour, but in nowise desire life with dishonour. His answer being reported unto King Mithridates, did much amaze him: and some have written, that he then said unto his familiars: What would Sertorius command us then, if he sat among them in the Senate at Rome, who being an exile now, and remaining in the farthest part of the world by the sea Atlanticum, doth take upon him to bound the certain confines of our kingdom, threatning us also with wars, if we attempt anything against Asia? All this notwithstanding, they were agreed upon oaths taken between them, that Mithridates should enjoy the countries of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and that Sertorius should send him one of his captains with aid of men of war, and that upon performance thereof, the king should give him the

Sertorius' noble and worthy answer

The seditious words of

sum of three thousand talents, and forty ships of war. So Sertorius sent thither one of his captains called Marcus Marius, a senator of Rome, who fled to him for succour: with whom Mithridates distressed certain cities of Asia. And when Marius entered into them, with his sergeants carrying the bundles of rods and axes before him, as before a Proconsul of the Romans: Mithridates gave him the upper hand, as his better, and followed after him. Furthermore, Marius did set certain cities at liberty, and wrote unto others, declaring unto them that Sertorius of his grace and goodness did release them of their tax and customs they paid: so that poor Asia which had been oppressed by the covetousness of the treasurers and farmers of the Romans, and also by the pride and insolency of the soldiers which lay in garrison among them, began to have some hope of change, and to desire the alteration of government, which Sertorius offered. But on the other side, the senators of Rome that were in Spain as banished men in Sertorius' army, and of the like dignity and estate that himself was of, they hearing say that all was well again at Rome, and persuading themselves that they should be strong enough for their enemies, having no cause to fear any more danger: began then to envy Sertorius' greatness and authority, but Perpenna specially among other, who by reason of his nobility being puft up with a vain presumption and ambitious selfwill, practised to make himself chief of all the army, and to that end threw forth amongst his friends and familiars such kind of seditious words. "What cursed fortune (quoth he) my friends doth daily haunt us

worse than other, making us that were unwilling to obey Sulla (commanding at this day both land and sea at his will) to choose rather to forsake our lands and country? And now being come hither in hope to live at liberty, we willingly make ourselves slaves, becoming Sertorius' guard for defence of his person in his exile: who to requite us withal, payeth us with fair words, calling us the senate, whereat every man laugheth to hear us so called, and in fine we must abide this dishonour to be at his commandment, and drudge and take as much pains, as the Spaniards and Lusitanians do themselves." Hereupon the more part of them being carried away with these mutinous words, durst not yet shew themselves in actual rebellion against Sertorius, being afeard of his authority: howbeit secretly underhand they overthrew his doings, by shewing extreme cruelty unto the barbarous people, by pretext of justice, imposing great payments upon them, giving it out it was Sertorius' commandment. By which their lewd practices, many cities revolted against him, and put themselves into his enemies' hands: and they daily also raised new mutinies and rebellions upon him. Furthermore, those whom he sent to pacify the tumults did handle themselves in such sort, that where they should have quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they set them farther out, and procured new tumults. Hereupon was Sertorius' gentle nature and former goodness so altered, that he committed a most cruel act upon all the noblemen's children of that land, which he brought up at school in the city of Osca: for some of them he put to death, and others he sold

Perpenna against Sertorius

he treason of erpenna and his accomplices

as slaves. Thus Perpenna having many associates in his wicked conspiracy against Sertorius, brought into his confederacy also one called Manlius, who had chiefest charge in all the army. This Manlius loved a young boy exceedingly, and because he would let him know he loved him well, he told him on a time the whole plot of this conspiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others' love but of his, and to love him only: for he should see him a great man before it were long. The young boy loving another better than him, called Aufidius, went and revealed unto him all that Manlius had told him. Aufidius marvelled to hear the boy made privy to it, seeing himself also was of the confederacy, and knew not yet that Manlius was one of them. And when the boy also named Perpenna, Græcinus, and some other whom Aufidius knew well to be of council, he was worse afrayed than before, but yet seemed to make little of it, and told the boy: For that matter it was nothing, and counselled him not to credit Manlius' words, who was but a vain man, and boasted of that which was not true, and did it only but to deceive him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went forthwith unto Perpenna, and told him how their practice was discovered, declaring further what danger they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he said, and thereupon they devised this treason. They had suborned a messenger to bring counterfeit letters to Sertorius, feigning in the same that one of his lieutenants had won a great battell, in the which he had slain a marvellous number of his enemies.

Sertorius being very glad of the good news, made sacrifice unto the gods to give them thanks. Whereupon, Perpenna taking the present opportunity invited Sertorius to supper to him, and all other his friends that were present (every one of the conspiracy with him) and was so importunate with Sertorius, that in the end he promised him to come. Now Sertorius did ever use great modesty at the board, and would suffer no dissolute talk nor light parts at his meat, and had acquainted them also that used his table, to talk of grave and wise matters, and yet one to be honestly merry with another, without any playing or uncomely talk. In the middest of supper, they that sought occasion of quarrel, began to speak lewd words, counterfeiting to be drunk, and to play many vile parts of purpose to anger Sertorius. Whereupon Sertorius, whether it was that he could not abide to see those villainous parts, or that he mistrusted their ill-will towards him by fumbling of their words in their mouths, and by their unwonted irreverent manner shewed unto him: fell backwards upon the bed where he sat at meat, seeming no more to mark what they did or said. Perpenna at that instant took a cupful of wine, and making as though he drank, let it fall of purpose. The cup falling down made a noise, and that was the sign given among them. Therewithal Antonius that sat above Sertorius at the table, stabbed him in with his dagger. Sertorius feeling the thrust, strove to rise: but the traitorous murtherer got up on Sertorius' breast, and held both his hands. And thus was Sertorius cruelly murthered, not able to defend himself, all the conspirators falling upon him. Sertorius'

The murther of Sertorius

Pompey's wisdom

death being blown abroad, the most part of the Spaniards sent ambassadors immediately unto Pompey and Metellus, and yielded themselves unto them: and Perpenna with those that remained with him, attempted to do something with Sertorius' army and preparation. But all fell out to his utter destruction and ruin, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither command, nor knew how to obey. For he went to assail Pompey, who had overthrown him straight, and was in the end taken prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamity, he did not use himself like a valiant-minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to save his life, having Sertorius' letters and writings, he offered Pompey to deliver him all Sertorius' letters sent him from the chiefest senators of Rome, written with their own hands, requesting Sertorius to bring his army into Italy, where he should find numbers of people desirous of his coming, and that gaped still for change of government. But here did Pompey show himself a grave and no young man, delivering thereby the city of Rome from great fear and danger of change and innovation. For he put all Sertorius' letters and writings on a heap together, and burnt them every one, without reading any of them, or suffering them to be read. And moreover, he presently put Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would breed new occasion of trouble and sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of them afterwards were brought to Pompey, who put them all to death: and the rest of them fled into Africk, where they were all overthrown by them of

the country, and not a man of them scaped, but fell unfortunately upon the edge of the sword, Aufidius only except, Manlius' companion in love. Who, either because he was not reckoned of, or else unknown, died an old man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poor, miserable, and hated of all the world.

The conspirators put to death

THE LIFE OF EUMENES

Eumenes' parentage

DURIS the historiographer writeth, that Eumenes was born in the city of Cardia in Thracia, being a carrier's son of the same country, (who for poverty earned his living by carrying merchandises too and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought up, as well at school, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, Philip king of Macedon chancing to come through the city of Cardia, where having nothing to do, he took great pleasure to see the young men of the city handle their weapons, and boys to wrestle: and among them, Eumenes shewed such activity, and performed it with so good a grace withal, that Philip liked the boy well, and took him away with him. But sure their report seemeth truest, which write that Philip did advance him for the love he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of Philip, Eumenes continued his service with King Alexander his son, where he was thought as wise a man, and as faithful to his maister, as any: and though he was called the chancellor or chief secretary, yet the king did honour him as much as he did any other of his chiefest friends and familiars. For he was sent his lieutenant-general of his whole army, against the Indians, and was Perdiccas' successor in the govern-

ment of his province, Perdiccas being preferred unto Hephæstion's charge after his death. Now because Neoptolemus (that was one of the chief squires for the body unto the king) after the death of Alexander told the Lords of the Council of Macedon, that he had served the king with his shield and spear, and how Eumenes had followed with his pen and paper: the lords laughed him to scorn, knowing that besides many great honours Eumenes had received, the king esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honour by marriage to make him his kinsman. For the first lady that Alexander knew in Asia, was Barsiné Artabazus' daughter, by whom he had a son, and called his name Hercules: and of two of her sisters he married the one of them called Apama unto Ptolemy, and her other sister also called Barsiné, he bestowed upon Eumenes, when he distributed the Persian ladies among his lords and familiars to marry them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with King Alexander, and stood in some danger by means of Hephæstion. For Hephæstion following Alexander's court on a time, having appointed Euius a fife player a lodging, which Eumenes' servants had taken up for their maister: Eumenes being in a rage, went with one Mentor unto Alexander, crying out that a man were better be a fife and a common player of tragedies, than a soldier, sithence such kind of people were preferred before men of service that ventured their lives in the wars. Alexander at that present time was as angry as Eumenes, and roundly took up Hephæstion for it: howbeit immediately after having changed his mind, he was much offended with Eumenes, because he thought

Eumenes and the fife-player

Eumenes and Hephæstion

him not to have used that frank speech so much against Hephæstion, as of a certain presumptuous boldness towards himself. And at another time also, when Alexander was sending Nearchus with his army by sea to clear the coasts of the ocean, it chanced the king was without money: whereupon he sent to all his friends to take up money in prest, and among others, unto Eumenes, of whom he requested three hundred talents. Eumenes lent him a hundred, and said he had much ado to get him so much of all his tenants. Alexander said nothing to him, neither would he suffer them to take his hundred talents: but commanded his officers to set Eumenes' tent afire, because he would take him tardy with a lie, before he could give order to carry away his gold and silver. Thus was his tent burnt down to the ground, before they could make shift to save anything: the which Alexander repented afterwards, and was sorry it was burnt, because all his letters and writings were burnt withal. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and silver mingled together, above a thousand talents, and yet Alexander took none of it away: but more than that, he sent unto all his lieutenants, captains, and governors of countries, wheresoever they were, that they should send him copies of all the letters which they before had sent unto him, because all those which he had were burnt, and commanded Eumenes to take them again. After that, Eumenes and Hephæstion fell at variance again, by reason of a gift that was given him, insomuch as very foul words passed betwixt Hephæstion and him: yet did not the king give Eumenes any ill countenance at that time. Not-

withstanding, shortly after Hephæstion was dead, the king taking his death grievously whom he loved so dearly, gave no good countenance (and was very brief besides) unto those whom he knew bare any grudge to Hephæstion whiles he lived, and that he thought were glad of his death, but specially unto Eumenes of all other, whose malice towards Hephæstion was known to him well enough: insomuch as he would oft twit him withal, remembering him of the injuries he had offered Hephæstion. But Eumenes being very wise, and one that could take his time, procured his help by the self same mean that did him hurt: and devised (to further Alexander's desire, seeking to honour Hephæstion's funeral with all pomp possible) new inventions to set forth the same, of more magnificence than had before been seen, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tomb. Again, when Alexander was dead, there fell out great variance betwixt the Macedonian footmen, and the noblemen that had been nearest about him: and in that quarrel, Eumenes in goodwill stuck to the lords, but in words he seemed a neuter and friend to both parts: saying, it was not for him being a stranger, to thrust himself into the quarrels of the Macedonians. And when the other lords were departed from Babylon, Eumenes tarrying behind pacified the greatest part of the soldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the lords. Whereupon, after the lords and captains had consulted together, and taken order for those contentions, they divided the government of the provinces among them which they called Satrapies: in which partition Eumenes had Cappa-

Eumenes made governor of Cappadocia

Eumenes and Leonnatus

docia, Paphlagonia, and all that coast upon Mare Ponticum, unto the city of Trapezunt, the which at that time was not subject to the empire of Macedon, for Ariarathes kept it then as king. Howbeit it was said, that Leonnatus and Antigonus would put him in possession of it, with a great and puissant army. And make him governor there. Yet afterwards Antigonus made none account of Perdiccas' letters unto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to conquer all, despising all other. And Leonnatus also came down into Phrygia, and undertook the journey of this conquest for Eumenes' sake. But when he was in journey thitherwards, Hecatæus, tyrant of the Cardians, went to him to his army, and prayed him rather to go help Antipater and the other Macedonians, which were besieged in the city of Lamia. So Leonnatus, being willing to take sea, and go thither, went about to persuade Eumenes also to like of it, and to reconcile him with Hecatæus: for they were not friends one with another, by reason of a quarrel that Eumenes' father had with this Hecatæus, about the government of their city. Besides that, Eumenes had many times complained of him openly unto King Alexander, saying, that he was a tyrant, and besought the king that it would please him to set the Cardians at liberty. And therefore Eumenes refusing that journey against the Grecians, alleging that he was afraid of Antipater, who had been his enemy of long time, doubting that for the old grudge he bare him, and also to gratify Hecatæus, he would put him to death: Leonnatus then revealed himself and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would pass over the sea

to aid Antipater, where indeed his meaning was to take the kingdom of Macedon. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from Cleopatra, willing him to come to the city of Pella, and there she would marry him. When Eumenes was made privy to his purpose: either because he feared Antipater, or else that he had no great good opinion of Leonnatus, knowing him to be a fond man, and very rash and unconstant in his doings, he stale away from him by night, with those few men he had (being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footmen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the sum of five thousand talents, and fled with them unto Perdiccas, unto whom he bewrayed all Leonnatus' intent and mind: whereupon he was immediately of great credit about him, and called to counsel. Shortly after, Perdiccas brought him into Cappadocia, with a great army which he himself did lead. Where Ariarathes was taken prisoner, and Eumenes established governor of the country, who delivered the charge of the great cities unto his friends, and left them there captains of garrisons which he appointed, placing everywhere, judges, receivers, governors, and all such other officers necessary as he thought meet, Perdiccas meddling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, Eumenes went away with Perdiccas again, as well to wait upon him, as also because he would ever be about the kings. But Perdiccas thinking with himself that he alone could well enough perform the enterprise he went about, and considering also that the realm he left behind him stood needful of a wise and skilful governor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state:

Eumenes acts as governo

Eumenes' tact and skilfulness

when they were in Cilicia, returned Eumenes back again, under colour to send him to his government, but indeed to keep the realm of Armenia in obedience, the which confined upon the frontiers of his country whereof he was governor, because Neoptolemus did underhand practice some alteration. Now though Neoptolemus was a proud and insolent person, yet Eumenes still devised to hold him in, and kept him from attempts, by gentle and fair words. Furthermore, perceiving also that the regiment of the Macedonian footmen were grown exceeding stout and insolent: he for a strength and defence against them, set up a company of horsemen, and to bring it to pass, released all the countrymen from paying of tribute or tax, being meet to serve on horseback, and bought a great number of horse of service, which he gave amongst them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them courageous, by honours and gifts he gave to them that served well, and so by continual exercise and often removing them from place to place, made them very ready and serviceable. Thus were the noblemen of Macedon, some much amazed, some others very glad when they saw how by this diligence Eumenes had in so short a time gotten about him such a number, as six thousand three hundred horsemen. About that time, Craterus and Antigonus having subdued the Grecians, came on with their army into Asia to overthrow Perdiccas' greatness and power: and news also, that shortly they would invade Cappadocia. Whereupon Perdiccas being otherwise occupied in wars, fighting against Ptolemy, made Eumenes his lieutenant-general, and gave him commission and full

authority over all his soldiers that were for him, either in Cappadocia, or in Armenia: and wrote letters unto Neoptolemus and Alcetas, commanding them by the same that they should be obedient unto Eumenes, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for Alcetas he flatly answered, that he would not be at this war: for the Macedonians under his charge were ashamed to take arms against Antipater, and moreover they would not fight against Craterus, but contrarily were bent to receive him for their captain, so much goodwill they bear him. Neoptolemus on the other side, was as ready to play the traitor, and to do Eumenes a shrewd turn, as Alcetas was. For being sent for by Eumenes to come to him, where he should have obeyed him, he set his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did Eumenes reap the first fruit of his wise foresight of the horsemen, which he had set up to make head against the footmen of the Macedonians. For when his own footmen were broken and overthrown, he overcame Neoptolemus, and put him to flight with his horsemen, and took all his carriage. Then he made them march in order of battell against the Macedonians, who were dispersed everywhere, following the chase of his footmen, whom they had overthrown. Thus coming upon them in this disorder, he drave them to throw away their weapons, and to yield unto him: and moreover, every man to take his oath to serve him faithfully in this war, wheresoever he would lead them. Now Neoptolemus gathering a few together that fled, went with them unto Craterus and Antipater: who sent unto Eumenes to pray him to take their part, with condition that he

The fruit of his foresight

Eumenes and Craterus

should not only enjoy the countries and provinces still which he had in government, but furthermore that they would give him others unto them, and make him stronger than ever he was: besides that by the acceptation of the offer, he should be taken for Antipater's good friend, where before he was ever reckoned his enemy. Whereunto Eumenes made answer: that having always been Antipater's enemy, he could not of a sudden become his friend, specially seeing him use his friends as enemies: howbeit otherwise that he was very willing to make Craterus' peace with Perdiccas, and to restore him again to his favour, upon reasonable and indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he meant to assail him, that then he would aid him so long as he had any breath in his body, and would lose his life before he would brake his promise. This answer being brought unto Antipater, they fell to consult at leisure what was to be done. In the mean space, Neoptolemus that fled upon his overthrow, was come unto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and besought them both very instantly, (but Craterus chiefly) to give him aid if it were possible. For the Macedonians were so far in love with him, that if they did but see his hat, and hear him speak, they would all arm themselves and follow him: For, to speak a troth, Craterus was had in great estimation among the Macedonians: insomuch as after Alexander's death, he was more desired of the common soldiers, than any other captain, remembering how often he had for their sakes incurred Alexander's disgrace and displeasure, because he went about to persuade him to leave the king of Persia's manner, whereunto Alexander by little and little

gave himself: and also for that he maintained and defended the customs of the country of Macedon, the which every man through pride and excess began to forsake and contemn. At that time therefore Craterus sent Antipater into Cilicia, and he himself with Neoptolemus, went against Eumenes with the best part of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether unprovided, supposing he would give himself to pleasure and pastime, after so late a victory. But Eumenes like a wise and vigilant captain had taken such order, that he heard news time enough of his enemies' coming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readiness to resist him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill in war. For he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not only keep his enemies from knowledge of anything that he did, but making his men also to kill Craterus in battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, and to keep also so dreadful an enemy from their knowledge: that of all others shewed the passing skill of an expert captain. And to work this feat the better, this was his policy. First, he made a rumour to be spread in his host, how Neoptolemus and Pigres were again come against him, with certain horsemen of all sorts gathered together, Cappadocians and Paphlagonians. And when he thought to have removed in the night, a great desire of sleep came upon him, in the which he had a marvellous strange dream. For it seemed unto him that he saw two Alexanders preparing to fight one with another, either of them leading a battell of footmen, ranged after the Macedonian fashion: who coming to give charge the one upon the other, came the goddess Minerva to aid the one,

Eumenes' skill in war

Eumenes' dream

and Ceres likewise to aid the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom Minerva aided was overthrown, and that Ceres had gathered ears of corn and made a crown of them, to give him that had won the field. Hereupon Eumenes persuaded himself that this dream made for him, and promised him victory, for that he fought for a fertile country of corn, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were sown with corn in every place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long peace, to see all the cornfields how green they looked. But when he understood that the enemies had given their soldiers for the signal of battell, Minerva and Alexander: then was his first imagination confirmed more than before. Whereupon, he gave Ceres and Alexander for signal of the battell to his soldiers, and commanded every man to make them a garland of wheat ears to wear on their heads, and that they should wreath flowers and nosegays about their pikes. He was in a mind many times to make his trustiest captains privy against whom they should fight, and not alone to trust himself withal, to keep so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this danger, but to himself. Now when he came to give battell, he would place never a Macedonian directly against Craterus, but set two companies of men of arms that were strangers against him, the which Pharnabazus (Artabazus' son) and Phœnix Tenidian did lead. Then he specially commanded, that so soon as they saw the enemies before them, they should straight give charge, giving them no

leisure to speak nor retire, neither to hearken to any herald or trumpet that they should send unto them: for he feared much that the Macedonians would turn against him, if they once came to know Craterus. Now for himself, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troop of three hundred men at arms, the chiefest men of all his army, where he should meet full with Neoptolemus' front. When they had passed a little hill that stood between both battels, Eumenes' horsemen following his commandment, ran with full career to set upon their enemies. Craterus seeing that, was amazed withal, and banned and cursed Neoptolemus that had deceived him in that sort, informing him that the Macedonians would turn off his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shew themselves like valiant men that day, and therewithal fiercely set spurs to his horse to meet with his enemies. The encounter was very cruel on either side, and their staves being broken, they fell straight to their swords: but that day did not Craterus dishonour the memory of Alexander, for he slew many of his enemies round about him, valiantly repulsed them that did assail him, and many times overthrew them. Yet in fine one of the men of arms of Thracia gave him such a blow on the side, that he turned him off his horse, and when he was down, many passed over him. But Gorgias, one of Eumenes' captains knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to guard him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and even in the very pangs of death. Eumenes and Neoptolemus on the other side, which had

Battell betwixt Eumenes and Craterus

Neoptolemus slain

bin mortal enemies of long time, being afire with an old malice, they sought up and down the one for the other. And at the two first courses they could not one light upon the other, but at the third meeting, when they knew one another, then they set spurs to their horses, their swords drawn, and with great cries gave charge upon each other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed galleys had met with their prows: and both the captains laying the bridles in their horse necks, closed together, and with both hands strived to pluck off each other's headpiece, and to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilst they were thus tearing each other, their horses ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. Neoptolemus got up first, but as he rose, Eumenes cut the ham of his leg, and raised himself up withal. Neoptolemus staying himself upon one knee, his other leg being very sore hurt, defended himself on the ground the best he could, from Eumenes that was on his feet, but he could give him no deadly wound: nevertheless himself had a blow on the neck, that laid him flat on the ground. Then Eumenes inflamed with choler against him, went about to strip him, and fell a reviling of him, and being in that furious mood, remembered not that Neoptolemus had his sword yet, who hurt him under his curaces, even about his groin, not far from his privy parts: howbeit the wound made Eumenes worse afraid, than there was cause of hurt, for that Neoptolemus' strength was gone before the stroke came, dying presently upon it. Eumenes having stripped him found himself very ill, (by reason of

his wounds) on his arms and legs, which had many a sore gash: notwithstanding, he got up on his horse, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had been fighting still. But there being told that Craterus had his death's wound, he went straight to the place where he lay, and found him yet alive, not past knowledge. Then Eumenes lighted from his horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accursed Neoptolemus that had brought him to that pitiful state, and had also forced him to be in battell against one of his dearest friends, to make him the instrument of his utter undoing. This second battell Eumenes wan ten days after the first battell obtained, which got him great honour, for that he had discomfited one of his enemies through wisdom, and the other by valiantness. But yet this bred him much ill-will, not only of his enemies, but of his friends also that took his part, when they bethought them, that he being a stranger, had with the weapons and power of the Macedonians themselves, slain the greatest and most famous captain among them. Now if Perdiccas had been so happy, as to have lived and received the advertisement of Craterus' death: no doubt he had been the greatest person of all the Macedonians. But as ill luck would have it, within two days after that Perdiccas was slain in a mutiny of his men in Egypt, news came to his army of Eumenes' victory, and also of the death of Craterus. Whereupon the Macedonians were so offended with Eumenes, that incontinently they condemned him to die, and gave Antigonus and Antipater commission to execute the revenge. When Eumenes

Eumenes' victory of Craterus and Neoptolemus

How he paid the soldiers

passing by Mount Ida (where the king kept a race and breed of horses) had taken away with him as many horses as he would, and had sent letters of advertisement thereof to the king's riders: Antipater, as it is reported, smiled, and in mockery said, that he marvelled to see Eumenes' great care, to think that he should either give or receive any account of the king's goods. So Eumenes thought good to fight in the great plains of Lydia, especially near unto the chief city of Sardis, because he was the stronger in horsemen, and for that he would make Cleopatra see the power of his army. Howbeit, being entreated by her (who feared blame of Antipater) he went farther into high Phrygia, and wintered in the city of Celænæ. But there Polemon, Alcetas, and Docimus, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, saying, that they had as much right to lead the army as he. Eumenes answered them, Truly here is even the common saying up and down: desperate men regard no danger. Now Eumenes having promised his soldiers pay within three days, to keep his promise, sold them all the farms and castles of that country, together with the men and beasts of the same, whereof the province was fully replenished. Thereupon his lieutenants of the bands having bought certain of them, went and took them perforce, through Eumenes' engines of battery which he suffered them to carry with him: and having taken them, they went and divided the spoil, paying every soldier rateably his wages due. This device brought him again in favour among his soldiers. For certain papers being found in his camp cast abroad by his enemies, promising

great offices, and a hundred talents besides to any man that killed Eumenes: the Macedonians that served under him were so offended withal, that they presently set down an order, that from that time forward a thousand of the best soldiers among them (which also had charge under them) should always guard his person, keeping watch every night about him, as fell out by turns one after another. Whereunto they all agreed: and Eumenes gave them those honours and rewards, which the kings of Macedon were wont to give unto their friends, and which they gladly received. For through their grant he had authority to give purple clokes and hats to whom he thought good, which was the honourablest gift the king of Macedon could give. It is true that prosperity maketh simple men high minded, whereby they seem (though they be not) very honourable, but specially when fortune hath raised them to honour and wealth. But indeed he that is of a noble mind and stout courage is best discerned in adversity: for he never yieldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by Eumenes. For when he had lost a battell among the Orcynians, in the realm of Cappadocia, through the treason of one of his soldiers: he being pursued, yet never gave the traitor any leisure to fly to his enemies for safety, but took him and trussed him up. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horse head upon a sudden, and leaving his enemies' side hand of him that had him in chase, he closely stale by them without their knowledge, and held on journeying so long, until he came to the self same plain, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering up the dead bodies,

The constancy of Eumenes in adversity

Eumenes' stratagem

(the captains by themselves, and the soldiers apart) he burnt them with the doors, gates, and windows of all the villages and towns thereabouts that he could get together: and instead of tombs for them, he raised up great heaps of earth. Insomuch as Antigonus coming thither immediately after, he wondered much at his valiantness and invincible courage. Removing thence, he met with Antigonus' carriage, and might easily without danger have taken a number of prisoners, as well free as bond, and have gotten all the riches and treasure which they had spoiled in so many sundry wars, towns, and countries: howbeit he was afraid that if his soldiers were loden with spoil, it would make them more heavy to march, and unable to fly, but specially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the only mean wherein he trusted to come to end this war. For he made account that Antigonus in the end would be weary in following him so long a time, and therefore that he would turn some other way. Moreover he perceived that it was unpossible for him by his authority to keep the Macedonians from taking so rich a prey, as offered itself unto them: whereupon he commanded them to stay a while, and bait their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoil the enemies' carriage. But in the meantime he secretly sent a messenger to Menander (who had the charge and conduct of all the carriage) to will him to fly with all speed out of the plain, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not far from thence, and safe from horsemen, where they could not be environed, and there to fortify himself: sending him word also, that he sent him

this advertisement, for the old friendship and acquaintance that had been between them afore. Menander hearing what danger he was in, made his men truss up their carriage straight. Thereupon Eumenes openly sent certain light armed men to discover, and to bring him news: and therewithal commanded them to arm, and bridle their horses, as if he had meant to have led them against the enemies. His scouts were now returned, and told him that it was unpossible either to distress or take Menander, for that he was fled into a place of such strength, and therefore he was not to be come by. Eumenes seemed to be very sorry for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithstanding. Menander afterwards reported this matter to Antigonus, and the Macedonians that were in his army, who did greatly commend Eumenes, and after that loved him better than ever they did before: because that having their children in his hands whom he might have made slaves, and their wives also whom he might have defiled, he spared them all. Howbeit Antigonus to put them out of this humour, told them, Ye are deceived, my friends: for it was not for your sakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that Eumenes took not your wives, your children, and your goods, but only for the fear he had to have shackles on his heels, to let him from speedy flying. So Eumenes departing from thence, fled still before Antigonus, and wandring up and down, did himself with his soldiers to get them somewhere else: either in deed for that he was careful of them, or for that he was unwilling to have such a number about him, being too few to fight a battell, and too many to hide his

Why Eumenes spared the spoil

Eumenes' talk with Antigonus

flying. In fine, he went to a strong place of situation called Nora, in the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horsemen, and two hundred footmen well armed. And when he was come thither also, he gave every one leave to depart that asked him licence, because they could not have abidden the discommodity of the place, which was very strait, and the lack of necessary victuals which they must needs have wanted, if the siege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good words and loving countenance. Shortly after came Antigonus before the fort, but would not besiege it, before he sent for Eumenes to come to him upon his word. Eumenes answered him, that Antigonus had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the heads of his tribe, and that himself on the other side had not a nobleman for whom he fought. And therefore if Antigonus would have him come and speak with him, that he should send him one of his chiefest friends in hostage. Again, Antigonus being earnest with him, and telling him it was reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: Eumenes answered him, I will acknowledge none better than myself, so long as I can hold my sword in my hand. In the end, Antigonus (according to Eumenes' request) sent his own nephew Ptolemy into the fort, and then came Eumenes out. At their meeting they both embraced and saluted each other, as friends of old acquaintance and familiarity: and so fell in talk of divers matters: but all this while Eumenes never once made request to depart in safety, neither yet demanded pardon, but only desired the confirmation

of his charge and government, and that he might be restored to that which was given him. They that were present at their meeting marvelled much at Eumenes, and greatly commended his stoutness. Now whilst they were thus in talk together, the Macedonians came out of all parts of the camp, to see what manner of man Eumenes was: because that after the death of Craterus there was no talk among the Macdonian soldiers, of any captain, but of Eumenes. Nevertheless Antigonus fearing they would do Eumenes some mischief, commanded them aloud to give back, and made stones to be thrown among them to keep them off him. All this notwithstanding he was fain in the end to put them off with his guard, and to take Eumenes in his arms, and had much ado to deliver him safely into his fort again. After this imparlance, Antigonus compassed this fort of Nora round about with a wall, and left a sufficient number of men to continue the siege, and so went his way with the rest of his army. In the meantime Eumenes remained besieged within this fort, where there was plenty of wheat, water, and salt, but of no other thing that was good to eat, nor sweet of taste, to sustain them with their bread. Yet with such as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them every one after another sit at his board with him, and withal did fashion out that manner of diet, with a certain life and familiarity of pleasant devices to entertain them at their meat. For besides that he sought to shew them as pleasant a countenance as he could, yet naturally he had a sweet fair face, not looking like a man of war, that all the days of his life had been trained up in it: but like a fresh

Eumenes' personage and pleasantness

Eumenes' industry in the siege

youth, being of such a constitution of body, that the excellentest workman that ever was could not better set out all the parts and proportion of a man, than were naturally to be seen in him. His speech was not harsh nor churlish, but very mild, and pleasant, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the siege, there was nothing that more annoyed the besieged, than the narrowness of the fort wherein they were, which was not above two furlongs compass about, and their houses so little and narrow, that they could scant turn them in them: and did eat and drink without any manner of exercise for themselves, or their horse. Now Eumenes to take away the sluggishness that groweth by idleness, a thing most hurtful to them that are acquainted with travail and pains) to keep them in breath, and to make them the lighter to fly, if occasion were offered: put his men into the longest and widest hall he had in his house, (being fourteen cubits long to walk up and down in) and taught them first of all to march fair and softly, and then by little and little to hasten their pace. For the horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after another, and then did softly trice them up with long pulleys fastened to the beams: their hindmost feet standing on the ground, and their foremost being aloft. The horses being triced up in this manner, their riders came with loud cries behind them, and some with whips in their hands to lash them, that the horse being mad withal, yerked out behind, and sprang forward with his foremost legs to touch the ground, that they did but even raise it a little, so as every vein and sinew of them were strained by this means, that they blew, and were all of a foam withal, so

good an exercise to them it was, as well to put them in breath, as to keep their legs supple to run. After that, they had their oats very clean pickt and dressed, that they might digest them the sooner. Antigonus having long continued this siege, news came unto him that Antipater was dead in Macedon, and that the realm was in a great broil, through the factions of Cassander and Polysperchon. Antigonus, whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coveting with himself the whole kingdom of Macedon, thought good to make Eumenes his friend, that through his help he might attain his desired purpose. Thereupon he sent Hieronymus unto him to treat of peace, and give him the form of the oath which he would have him swear unto him. When Eumenes had seen it, he would not be sworn in that manner, but corrected it and said: that he did refer himself to the judgement of the Macedonians which kept him besieged, to judge which of those two forms was most meetest: that which Antigonus had sent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in Antigonus' form of oath, there was a little mention only made at the beginning of the blood royal, but in all the rest following, he bound Eumenes particularly to himself. But Eumenes in his form of oath, did first of all put Olympias the mother of King Alexander, and the kings his sons afterwards: and for the rest, he sware he would be friend of the friends, and enemy of the enemies not of Antigonus only, but of the kings, and of Olympias. The Macedonians being at the siege before Nora, did better like the form of Eumenes' oath, than they did that of Antigonus. So having given

for martial exercise

Eumenes' treaty with the Macedonians

Eumenes his oath, and made him swear according to that form: they raised their siege, and sent also unto Antigonus to take his oath. All this accomplished, Eumenes redelivered the Cappadocians their hostages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gave him in their stead, horse of war, beasts of carriage, tents and pavilions. Thus he began to gather his men again together, which were dispersed abroad after his overthrow, so that in few days he was above a thousand horsemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet Antigonus, and he did wisely. For Antigonus had not only commanded them to shut him up again straiter than he was before: but besides that wrote sharp letters and very angrily unto the Macedonians, which had accepted the correction of the oath. Whilst Eumenes wandred up and down flying still, he received letters from certain in Macedonia (fearing Antigonus' greatness) and specially from Olympias: which sent unto him to come into Macedon, to take the charge and government of her young son Alexander, whom they sought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewise received letters from Polysperchon and from King Philip, who commanded him to make war with Antigonus with his army he had in Cappadocia, and to put in his purse of the king's five hundred silver talents, (which had been taken from him before) which were in the city of Cyndes, and besides, to defray the charges of the wars, as much as he thought meet. And therewithal also they wrote unto Antigenes and Teutamus, the two captains of the Argyraspides: to wit, the soldiers with the silver shields, or shields

silvered, which were of the old bands of Alexander's army. These two captains having received these letters, did use Eumenes with very good words, and shewed him great countenance: yet a man by their looks might easily conjecture that they envied him, for either of them both thought themselves men sufficient, and worthy to command Eumenes, not to aid him. Howbeit Eumenes behaved himself very wisely. For as touching their envy, he pacified that, because he took not the money which he was commanded to take for his own use, for that he had no need of it. And as for their ambition and presumption, disdaining to be commanded by him, though they could neither tell how to command nor obey: he did reclaim them, by a superstition he laid before them, which was this. He made them believe that Alexander did appear to him in his sleep, and that he shewed him a pavilion sumptuously set out in the state and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royal throne: and told him, that if they would keep their council place in that pavilion, he would be present among them, and aid them in all their counsels and conducts of their wars, so that they would always begin by him. He easily persuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe that which he spake, who would not go to him to consult of any matters: neither did he think it honourable for himself to be seen to go to other men's gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set up a goodly rich pavilion, which was called Alexander's pavilion: and there they kept their councils and assemblies for despatch of all their weightiest causes. After

Eumenes feigned device

Eumenes' wiliness to wind himself out of danger

this, they went towards the high countries and met with Peucestas on the way, (Eumenes' very great friend) who joined with them, and other great peers of the realm, with all their power besides. This did greatly strengthen the army of the noblemen of Macedonia, as touching the number of men, and their brave armours and furniture: but for their own persons, because they had no man to command them since the death of Alexander, they were grown self-willed by dissolute liberty, and effeminate in their manner of life: and moreover they had gotten a tyranical fierceness, nourished and increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many of them being then together, could not be quiet one with another, but shamefully flattered the old bands of the Macedonian soldiers, giving them money, and making them banquets and feasts of sacrifices. And thus in short time, of a camp they brought it to be a dissolute tavern, where the noblemen got the soldiers' favour that they might be chosen chieftains of all the army: like as the common people's voices are bought in free cities (where the people do rule) to be preferred to honourable states and offices of the common wealth. Now Eumenes found straight that these peers of the realm disdained one another, howbeit that they all feared and mistrusted him, and sought but for opportunity to kill him. Wherefore to prevent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupy money, and so borrowed a great sum of them specially, whom he knew most hated him: to the end that from thenceforth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in fear to lose the money they had

lent him. And thereof followed a strange thing: for other men's money and goods, was the safety of his life. For where others give money to save their lives, he by taking of money saved his own life. Now for the soldiers of the Macedonians, whilst they saw they were without danger of enemies to make them afraid, they still hung upon them that gave them, being desirous to be made generals: and came every morning to their uprising to wait upon them, and follow them wheresoever they went. But when Antigonus was come to camp hard by them with a great and puissant army, and that their case required then a valiant captain and skilful leader: not the soldiers alone, but all the peers and states besides, (which in peace did brave it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit themselves unto Eumenes, to be at his commandment. For when Antigonus essayed all the ways he could to pass over the river of Pasitigris, the peers which were laid in divers places to let him from passing over, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but Eumenes only that resisted him, and fought with him: where he slew such a number of his men, that he filled the river with them, and took four thousand of them prisoners. Again, when Eumenes was sick, these old bands did more plainly shew what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them good cheer at their houses, yet that Eumenes only of all other was worthiest to be their captain, and to command them. For Peucestas having feasted them in the kingdom of Persia, and given every soldier a mutton to sacrifice, thought he had won great favour and

Eumenes' battell with Antigonus and his victory

The love of the soldiers for Eumenes

credit among them. But shortly after, as the army marched against their enemies, Eumenes by misfortune fell dangerously sick, and therefore would needs be carried in a litter far from the camp, to be out of the noise, because he could take no rest. But they had not gone far, before they saw their enemies, which having passed over certain little hills between them, were coming down into the valley. When the soldiers saw the glistering of the gilt armours of their enemies, that glared in the sun, and the good order they marched withal in battell ray, the elephants with the towers upon their backs, and the men at arms with their purple coats upon their armours (which was the apparel they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the foremost stayed upon it, and cried out, willing them to send for Eumenes to lead them, for they would else go no farther if they had not him for their general. And therewithal they raised their pikes, and laid down their shields at their feet, calling from one to another to stay, and to their private captains also: and told them plainly, that they would not stir a foot from thence, nor fight at all, unless Eumenes were among them to lead them. Eumenes hearing of it, came to them with great speed, hastening his slaves and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on every side, he held out his right hand to the soldiers, and told them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The soldiers also so soon as they saw him, saluted him in the Macedonian tongue, and took up their shields, clapping them against their pikes with a great shout, bidding their

enemies come when they would, they should be fought withal, now that their captain was among them. Antigonus on the other side, being informed by certain prisoners which his soldiers had taken in skirmish, that Eumenes was fallen very sore sick, and by reason thereof was carried in a litter: thought now he should have no great ado to discomfit the rest of the army, and therefore made all possible speed he could to fight. But when he came so near, that he might easily see the order and countenance of his enemies, who were set in such good order of battell, that it could not any ways be amended: he was much amazed withal, and paused a great while, and in the meantime spied Eumenes' litter afar off, carried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and turning himself to his friends, said: See, said he, I believe it is that litter that maketh war with us, and doth offer us battell. But with those words, he sounded the retreat, and brought his men back again into his camp. When this fear was a little passed over, the Macedonians fell to their old trade again, the peers to flatter the soldiers, and the soldiers to wax brave and stout against their captains: so that when they came to take their garrisons for the winter time, they divided in manner among them the whole country of the Gabenians, the first from the last being lodged almost a thousand furlongs off. Which Antigonus understanding, determined to set upon them, they mistrusting nothing. And so went sodainly towards them, by a shorter way than that he had already come, but the worser way a great deal, and where no water was to be

Antigonus' mock to Eumenes

Eumenes' stratagem

had: in hope that if he met them thus dispersed asunder, their captains could not readily assemble them all together. But while he was in this his journey, in the desert crooked way, he was so overtaken, and with such boisterous winds and extreme bitter cold, that his soldiers could go no farther, but were forced to tarry still, to provide them present remedy against the fury of the time. Now the only remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knew of their coming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountains, towards the desert, being amazed to see such a number of fires in the valley, sent presently with speed upon two camels light loden, to advertise Peucestas, who being nearest unto the mountains was so scared with these news, that he was at his wits' end, not knowing what to do. For, seeing his other companions as much afraid as himself, he fled upon it, and carried all them with him which he met in his way. But Eumenes quieted this great fear, assuring them that he would stay the sodain attempt of their enemies, and that they should come three days later than they looked for: which they believed. Then did Eumenes send messengers into every quarter to all the captains, commanding them speedily to put their men in readiness, and to meet him at a certain place which he appointed. Himself in the meantime went with other captains to choose a fit ground to lodge a camp, the which might easily be seen from the top of the mountains, which they must pass that come from the desert: and there fortified the same with trenches, and divided it out into quarters, making a fire in every place, such a distance off one

from another, as they use commonly to make in a camp. It was no sooner done, but Antigonus came to the top of the mountains, and saw these fires afar off, which grieved him much: for he thought that his enemies had long before known of his coming, and that they came against him. Being afraid therefore lest his enemies would compel him to fight, coming fresh upon him, his own men being weary and done with the pains they had abidden, coming through that desert country: he took his way to lead back his army, not the nearest way by the which he came, but through the country richly inhabited and replenished with great cities and good towns, to refresh his over-wearied people. Yet seeing he had none alarms given, nor any skirmishes offered him, (as they use commonly when both armies are near together) and that the valley men told him that they had seen none other army but his, saving that round about there was store of fires: then he straight mistrusted that it was one of Eumenes' strategems of war, wherewith he had deceived him. And therewithal he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to find him, determining no more to steal upon him, but to put all to the hazard of a battell. But in the meantime, the most part of the host was gathered about Eumenes, for the great estimation every man had of his wisdom and sufficiency: insomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he only as their lieutenant general should command the whole army. This spited the two captains of the Argyraspides, Antigenes and Teutamus, who bare him such an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practised his death: and assembling

against Antigonus

'Eumenes' death conspired

together with many of the states and particular captains, they sat in council to know when, and in what sort they should kill him. Howbeit the most voices assembled in this council, were whole of opinion, that they should take the benefit of his service in leading the battell, and that immediately after they should put him to death. This being thus resolved upon, Eudamus captain of the elephants, and another called Phædimus, went secretly and told Eumenes what they had concluded upon in the assembly against him, not for any goodwill that they bare him, or for that they sought to pleasure him, but only because they were afraid to lose the money they had lent him. Eumenes gave them great thanks, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it unto his best friends, and told them: You see how I am environed with a troop of wild and brutish beasts. That done, he made his will, and tore all the letters and writings that had been sent him, because he would not have them suffer for him after his death, that had sent him secret advertisements. Afterwards when he had disposed of all his private matters in this sort, he stood in a doubt whether he should lose the battell giving his enemies the victory, or whether it were better for him to fly into Cappadocia, through Media and Armenia. Howbeit he resolved of nothing before his friends. But when the mischief he was in had put divers thoughts into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did set his army in battell ray, persuading the Grecians as well as the barbarous people to stand to it like men. And as for the old soldiers of the Macedonians, they so little needed exhortation, that they themselves did

exhort Eumenes to be of good courage, saying: that their enemies would never abide them, because they were all the oldest soldiers, and of greatest experience, that had been in all the conquests of King Philip, and of his son Alexander, and that it was never heard that they had been overthrown in any set battell, the most of them being three score and ten years old, and the youngest no less than threescore. Whereupon, when they ran with great fury to give charge upon their enemies, they cried out aloud speaking to the soldiers of the Macedonians that were under Antigonus: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And so assailing them with a lusty courage, and in a rage withal, in a short space overthrew the squadron of their enemies, and slew the most part of them in the field. Thus was Antigonus' army clean overthrown on that side: but on the other side where his men of arms were, through Peucestas' cowardliness (that handled himself very ill at that battell) he had the upper hand, and wan all their carriage, through his foresight in the greatest fury of the battell, and the strength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a marvellous great plain of length, neither too deep, nor yet too hard under foot, but covered over with a small fine sand, much like to the dry sand the sea casteth up, and leaveth upon the shore. This sand being scattered abroad by riding and going to and fro of so many thousands of men and horses during the time of the battell foughten, had raised such a mighty dust and white smoke in the element, as if they had stirred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their sight so sore, as they could see nothing

The old band of the Macedonians

Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraspides

before them: in respect whereof Antigonus might easily seize all their carriage, themselves being never a whit the wiser. The battell being come to this pass you have heard, Teutamus sent presently unto Antigonus, to pray him to redeliver them their carriage again, which he had taken and carried into his camp. Antigonus made him answer, that he would not only redeliver the goods unto the Argyraspides, but would moreover use them with all the favour he could, so far forth as they delivered Eumenes into his hands. Whereupon the Argyraspides took presently a wicked resolution, to deliver him alive into the hands of his enemies. And with that determination they came near unto him, not making any countenance as though they would lay hands on him, but rather seeming to guard and defend his person as their manner was: some of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had won the battell: and others accusing the noblemen of cowardliness, saying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victory. But in fine, one of them having spied his time, flew to him, and took his sword out of his hand: the others straight laid hold of him, and bound both his hands behind him with his own girdle. Antigonus understanding it, sent Nicanor thither to take him out of their hands, and to bring him to him. Then Eumenes having made request unto them to suffer him to speak, as they brought him through the bands of these old Macedonian soldiers: it was granted him with condition, that he should make no motion unto them to turn from that they were determinated to do, but to tell them of things, which (as he said)

tended greatly to their benefit. Whereupon silence being made, he got up upon a little hillock, and there spake unto them, putting forth his hands being bound. "O wretched and faithless men, the wickedest that ever Macedon bred! What so great triumph or victory, hath ever Antigonus won of you, having sought it such infinite ways: as you yourselves do now put into his hands, delivering him your captain bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great shame, that being masters of the field, you will grant the honour of the victory unto your enemy, only for a little covetousness of money and paltry stuff which you have lost? And yet is not this all, but the worst behind: to send your captain as you do to pay the ransom of your baggage. For my self, though now they lead me bound, yet do I remain free unovercome, vanquisher of mine enemies, and sold by them that should be my friends. Well, yet this request I only make unto you, in the name of Jupiter, protector of arms, and for the honour of the gods, (unto whom all vowed oaths ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and conjure you, to kill me yourselves in this place. For all cometh to one end. To be slain in Antigonus' camp by the hands of mine own enemies, will ever be counted your deed: and you may be assured he will not be angry withal, for he only desireth Eumenes' death, and not his life. If you will needs hold your hands from this attempt, unloose yet one of mine only: that shall suffice to do the feat. And if for fear ye will not put a sword in my hand, throw me bound yet hands and feet unto wild beasts: which if ye perform, then do I discharge you of your oath taken between both my hands, which ye have

The oration Eumene to the traiterou soldiers

Antigonus' keeping of Eumenes

sworn unto your captain, as holily and perfectly performed." Upon this speech of Eumenes, all the rest of the army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the Argyraspides cried out to carry him away, and not to give ear to his preaching: and that it was a good deed to punish this wicked Cherronesian, according to his deserts, considering that he had turmoiled the Macedonians with endless war and battell. And moreover, that it were too much shame that the worthiest soldiers that ever served King Philip and Alexander, so painfully in all their wars, should for recompense of their service in their old age be turned a-begging, their wives having now lien three nights with their enemies. With those words, they violently drave him on towards Antigonus' camp, who fearing lest the multitude of people that ran to see him, would smother him in the press, because every man ran out of the camp: he sent thither ten of the strongest elephants he had, and a good number of men of arms of the Medes and Parthians, to make way for him in the prease. When Eumenes was now come into Antigonus' camp, his heart would not serve him to see him in that miserable state, for that they had once been familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him in their custody, came to Antigonus to ask him, how he would have him kept. Who answered them: Like a lion, or an elephant. Yet within a while after he took pity of him, and discharged him of his weightiest irons, and sent one of his household servants to him to see him well used, and suffered his friends to come and bring him anything he lacked. Thus did Antigonus defer many days

before he would determine aught of Eumenes, hearing every man speak, and pondering their purposes and several opinions. Nearchus Cretan, and his own son Demetrius spake for Eumenes, and made suit to save his life, contrary to all the other lords and captains that were about Antigonus, who would in any case have him die. Eumenes standing in these terms asked his keeper Onomarchus one day what Antigonus meant, that having his enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his pain, or nobly deliver him? Onomarchus churlishly answered him again, that the time was past now to shew his courage, as though he feared not death: and that he should have shewed it in the field at the battell. So help me Jupiter (quoth he) so have I done, and if thou believest not me, ask them that set upon me: for I never met with man yet more strong than myself. Onomarchus replied again: Sith now therefore thou hast found a stronger than thyself, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when Antigonus had resolved of his death, he commanded them to give him no more meat: and thus taking his sustenance from him, Eumenes was three days a-dying. In the meantime came such news, that suddenly the camp removed: and therefore before their departure, a man was sent to Eumenes to despatch him out of his pain. Antigonus licensed his friends to take his body and burn it, and then to gather his ashes and bones to send them to his wife and children. Eumenes being slain in this manner, the gods appointed none other judges to revenge the disloyalty and treason of the Argyraspides and their captains, for betraying of Eumenes, but Antigonus

The noble mind of Eumenes and his death

The just reward of treason

self: who detesting them as cruel murderers, and perjured persons to the gods, appointed Sibyrtius governor of the province of Arachosia, to kill them every mother's son what way he could, that none of them might ever see Macedon again, nor the Greekish sea.

THE COMPARISON OF EUMENES WITH SERTORIUS

The government of Eumenes and Sertorius

Here have we set down the things worthy memory of Eumenes and Sertorius. Now to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being strangers in a strange country, and banished out of their own, had always been captains of divers nations, and chieftains of great and warlike armies. But this was proper to Sertorius, that all those of his faction gave him the chiefest place of authority, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to command: where Eumenes having many that contended against him for the chief rule and conduction of the army, through his noble deeds, obtained the chief place and authority in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be governed by a good captain: and for their own safety gave place to the other, seeing themselves unable to command. For Sertorius being a Roman, governed the Spaniards and Lusitanians: and Eumenes a Cherronesian, the Macedonians. Of the which, the Spaniards of long time had been subject, to the empire of Rome: and the Macedonians at that time had subdued all the world. Furthermore, Sertorius being then of great estimation for that he was a senator of Rome, and had had charge of men of war before, came to the dignity and estate to be chieftain of a great army.

Their deeds and conditions compared

Where Eumenes came with small reputation, disdained for that he was but a secretary: and when he began to come forwards, had not only less means to prefer him than Sertorius had, but greater lets and impediments also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly stood against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as Sertorius, whom no man contraried from the beginning, until his latter end, when certain of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore Sertorius' end of all his dangers, was to overcome his enemies: where Eumenes' greatest dangers came through his victories which he wan of his own men, through the malice of them that envied his honour. Now for their deeds of arms, they are both in manner alike: but on the other side for their conditions, Eumenes naturally loved war and contention: and Sertorius embraced peace and quietness. For, Eumenes that might have lived in safety with honour, if he would but have given place to his betters, and forsaken the wars: liked better with the danger of his life to follow martial feats, with the greatest personages of Macedon, and in the end so came to his death. Sertorius contrarily being unwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the safety of his person to take arms against them, that would not let him live in peace. For had not Eumenes been so ambitious and stout to strive against Antigonus for the chiefest place of authority, but could have been contented with the second, Antigonus would have been right glad thereof: where Pompey would never so much as suffer Sertorius to live in rest. So, the one made voluntary war only to rule, and the other against

his will was compelled to rule, because they made wars with him. Whereby it appeareth that Eumenes naturally loved war, preferring the covetous desire of a better estate, above the safety of his life, and the other as a right soldier, used the wars only for a mean to save his life by valiant defence of arms. Furthermore, the one was slain, mistrusting no treason against him: and the other, looking every hour for present death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble mind, not to mistrust them whom he thought his friends: and the other shewed a faint heart, being taken when he meant to fly. So Sertorius' death dishonoured not his life, suffering that of his own companions, which his deadly foes could never make him suffer. The other having no power to avoid his destiny before he was taken, and having sought means to live being in prison and captivity: could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies' hands, he gave him his heart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

Sertorius' death more honest than the death of Eumenes

THE END OF EUMENES' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS

The parentage and instruction of Agesilaus

ARCHIDAMUS the son of Zeuxidamus, having honourably reigned in Lacedæmon, left two sons behind him: Agis which he begat of that noble lady Lampido, and Agesilaus a great deal younger, which he had by Eupolia, Melisippidas' daughter. So the kingdom falling by succession unto Agis the elder, the younger son Agesilaus remaining a private person, was brought up after the Laconian manner, which was a strait kind of life: but withal it taught children how to obey. Whereof it is thought the poet Simonides calleth Sparta, Damasimbrotos: to wit, making men civil: for that by continuance of custom, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the laws, as much or more than any other city that ever was in the world taming them from their childhood, as they do young colts. The law dispenseth with the heirs apparent to the crown, from that strait subjection and hard life: but Agesilaus had that excellency in him above all others of his estate, that he came to the dignity and honour to command, having from his youth learned to obey. The which undoubtedly was the cause, that he knew better than any other king, how to please and bear with his subjects, helping his royal estate and princely behaviour grafted in him by

nature, with that courtesy and familiarity which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boys which were brought up together, Lysander fell in love with him, wondering at the modesty of his wit. For having better spirit, and being more constant in his opinion, than any of the other children, striving ever to excel in all things, with such a vehemency he took all travels in hand, that it was unpossible to overcome him, much less to compel him. He was on the other side so mild and gentle, that every courteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any fear could do: because it grieved him more to be reproved, than to take upon him any pain or labour. And for the deformity of his leg, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, he used the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merrily mock himself: which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lameness, he refused no pains nor labour. Of his person we have drawn no counterfeit, because he would not in any wise have it drawn, and did expressly command by his will, that they should neither draw his picture nor make any mould or image of his body. Howbeit we find that he was of small stature, whereby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was ever merry and pleasant, and never pensive nor troublesome in word nor look, even to the last end of his life he was better loved, than the most fair creature that

The modesty of Agesilaus

Leotychides a bastard

lived. Notwithstanding, the Ephori (as Theophrastus writeth) did condemn King Archidamus in a sum of money because he married a little woman: saying that he would beget them demy kings, no kings indeed. In the time that his eldest son Agis reigned king, Alcibiades being banished Athens fled out of Sicily into Lacedæmon, and had not long remained in Sparta before they suspected him that he kept King Agis' wife, called Timæa: for which cause Agis would not acknowledge the child she brought to be his son, saying that Alcibiades had begotten him. But Timæa cared not much for it, as Duris writeth: for otherwhile as she sat amongst her women, softly she called him Alcibiades, not Leotychides. On the other side they report, that Alcibiades himself said, it was for no hurt he meant to any man, that he lay with Queen Timæa, but only for the desire he had that some of the kings of Lacedæmon should be begotten of his seed. Nevertheless at the length he was driven to forsake Lacedæmon, mistrusting King Agis, who ever after doubted of the child, and thought him a bastard: until such time as being on his death-bed, Leotychides falling on his knees, wept, and so behaved himself, that Agis before many witnesses, said he did acknowledge him for his son. This notwithstanding, when King Agis was dead, Lysander that had then overcome the Athenians by sea, and was more in credit and authority in the city of Sparta, than any other: practised to put the crown upon Agesilaus' head, saying, that Leotychides had no interest unto it, because he was a bastard. The like did divers other citizens say of him, which

loved Agesilaus' virtue, and liked him passingly, for that he had been brought up from his childhood among them. But on the contrary part also, there was a soothsayer or wizard in Sparta called Diopithes, that had a number of old prophecies without book, and was accounted a very skilful man touching prophecies and divinations. He maintained that it was not lawful for any lame man to be king of Sparta: and for proof thereof he told this ancient oracle before the council:

Agesila created king, through Lysander's means

As stately as thy stomack is O Sparta take good heed,
And stand upon thy guard, and look about thee, I thee rede.
For halting one day down will cast thine empire to the ground,
By mean of wars and troubles great that shall enclose thee round.

Lysander replied against it, saying, that if the Spartans were afraid of this oracle, they should rather beware of Leotychides. For the gods cared not, if any man lame of a foot aspired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the race of Hercules. For that, said he, were to make the kingdom halt. Agesilaus furthermore alleged, that the god Neptune himself had witnessed, that Leotychides was a bastard: for he drave Agis by an earthquake, to run out of his wife's chamber, and that ten months after that, and more, Leotychides was born. So was Agesilaus upon these allegations not only proclaimed king of Sparta, but he had given him moreover, as lawful heir, all his brother Agis' goods, and Leotychides rejected as a bastard. Notwithstanding,

Agesilaus an upright enemy than a friend

considering that his parents by his mother's side were very poor, (yet honest men) he left them the moity of all the goods: by which act, Agesilaus won all their goodwills, where else they had envied him for his succession in the kingdom. And (as Xenophon saith) by obeying his country, he grew to such power that he might do whatsoever he would. The Ephori and senators at that time bare all the sway and government of the common wealth, the Ephors' office changing yearly, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the insolency of the kings, for that they should not (as we have more amply written in Lycurgus' life) have absolute power in their hands. Upon this occasion, the kings that succeeded in the government, had (as it were) by inheritance, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, Agesilaus took a contrary course to all his predecessors. For where others presently quarrelled with the Ephori and senators, Agesilaus did honour and reverence them, and would never despatch any matter without their privity, but was always ready to go when they did send him. When he was set in his chair of state to give audience, if any of the Ephori chanced to come in, he would rise up unto them: and at the election of any new senator, he would for honour's sake present him a gown and an ox. And thus cunningly seeming to honour and increase the dignity of the senators, winning their goodwills, he made his power great, and the realm much greater. Furthermore, his behaviour towards the rest of his countrymen was such, as his enmity was less faulty than his friendship. For he did never hurt his enemies without just cause, but he aided his

friends in even unjust causes. And whereas he thought it a shame not to honour enemies, when they had done well: he could not find in his heart to rebuke his friends when they did amiss, but rather gloried in succouring and helping of them in their evil doings. For he thought it no shame to serve his friends' turn, howsoever it were. Again, when any of his adversaries offended, he was as sorry for it as any man, and as ready to bear with it if he were entreated: whereby he allured and wan the hearts of all men. The Ephori seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in money for that he made the common love of his country private to himself. For, as natural philosophers hold opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to pass that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all things should be at a stay, by reason of the mutual agreement between the world and them: even so, the lawmaker of Lacedæmon seemeth to have allowed ambition and strife in the common wealth, as a spur to vertue by procuring always some contention and emulation among great persons. And his reason was that this base and effeminate favour, in winking one at another when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concord. And sure some think that Homer also saw the same, for he would never else have made Agamemnon to have rejoiced to see Ulysses and Achilles at great words together, if he had not been of opinion, that envy and contention among great men, were very available for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtful to cities, where they are violent: and do bring

Whether contention be profitable in a common wealth

Agesilaus' journey into Asia

great dangers with them. Now when Agesilaus was entered into his kingdom of Lacedæmon, news were brought him out of Asia, that the king of Persia prepared a great navy to conquer the Lacedæmonians signiory by sea. Lysander being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent again into Asia to succour his friends whom he had left there as governors and lieutenants of cities and provinces (of the which, some of them were driven away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority and ruling over cruelly:) persuaded Agesilaus to go into Asia, to make war upon this barbarous king, far from Greece, before his army were gathered together. And to compass this the easier, he wrote unto his friends in Asia that they should send unto Sparta to require Agesilaus for their captain, and so they did. Thereupon Agesilaus going to the assembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would give him thirty captains of the Spartans to be counsellors and assistants to him in these wars, two thousand free Helots, and six thousand of the confederates of Lacedæmon. All this was immediately granted through Lysander's friendship towards him, and he was sent away straight with the thirty captains which he had requested: of the which Lysander was the chiefest, not only for his riches and authority, but also for the goodwill he bare unto Agesilaus: who thought himself more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his friendship he shewed him in bringing him to be king. Now Agesilaus' army being assembled at the haven of Geræstus, himself with certain of his friends went unto the city of Aulis, where in his sleep he dreamed that one said

unto him: O king of the Lacedæmonians, thou knowest that never none but Agamemnon, and now thyself, was chosen general of all Greece, considering therefore that thou commandest the same people he did, that thou makest wars with the self same enemies, departing from the self same place to go thither, it is reason that thou make the self same sacrifice unto the goddess, the which he made at his like departure. Agesilaus straight upon this vision, remembred that Agamemnon through the persuasion of the soothsayers did sacrifice his own daughter in the same place. Yet this made him not afraid, but the next day he told it to his friends, and said he would sacrifice that unto the goddess, which he thought would please her well enough, and that he would not follow that cruel devotion of this ancient captain Agamemnon. And with that, he brought a hind crowned with a garland of flowers, and commanded his soothsayer to sacrifice her: and would not suffer him to have the honour to do the sacrifice, that was appointed for the same purpose by the governors of Bœotia, according to the custom of that place. The governors of Bœotia understanding it, were much offended, and sent their officers to will Agesilaus not to do any sacrifice there, contrary to the law and custom of their country. The officers that were sent, performed their commission: and finding that the beast was slain, and the quarters of it upon the altar, they took and flung them off the altar every way. This vexed Agesilaus being ready to embark, and departed thence in choler against the Thebans, and mistrusted much his good success by this unlucky prediction, which seemed to prognosticate unto him, that he should

Agesilaus' dream in Aulid

Agesilaus' grudge unto Lysander

not prevail according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was arrived at Ephesus, he presently misliked the honour he saw done unto Lysander, and the great train that waited on him. For all the countrymen there repaired continually to his house, that when he came abroad, they all followed him wheresoever he went: as though Lysander had indeed been in authority to do what he would, and that Agesilaus only had but the name to be general, so appointed by the law of Lacedæmon. For in truth there was never Grecian captain in those parts that had won him such estimation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was never man that was more beneficial to his friends, neither also that was more hurtful to his enemies. All these things being fresh in memory, the countrymen of that country perceiving the simplicity of Agesilaus, and how he was given to please the people, and carried no great majesty nor countenance with him, and observing in Lysander that wonted roughness and sharp speech wherewith they had been acquainted before: every man obeyed him, and nothing was done but what he commanded. This first of all made the other Spartans angry, for that it appeared they were come as it were to serve Lysander, and not as to counsel the king: but after that, Agesilaus himself also grew miscontented, although of his own nature he was not envious nor sorry to see others honoured besides himself. Yet being a man ambitiously given, and of a noble courage, fearing if he should do any noble exploit in this war, that they would impute it unto Lysander, for the great estimation he was of: he first began to deal in this sort with him. First he contraried all his counsels: and what matters

soever he preferred, which he was desirous should have taken effect, Agesilaus would none of that, but took some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of Lysander's followers came to make suit to him for his favour, perceiving that they did lean unto Lysander: he sent them away without anything done for them. In like case also in matters of judgements, if Lysander were against any, they were sure to have the matter pass on their side. On the contrary part also, if Lysander bear goodwill to the party, and favoured the cause to gratify him: they hardly escaped from setting a fine on their heads. Agesilaus continuing these shews ordinarily of purpose, not by chance to one or two, but indifferently to all: Lysander looking into the cause, dissembled not with his friends, but told them plainly that it was for his sake they had those repulses and wrongs, and therefore did counsel them to wait upon the king, and those that had more credit than himself. Now Agesilaus supposed he gave that advice to make every man to malice him: wherefore, to despite him the more, he made him distributer of his victuals, (and having done so) some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: Now let them go and honour my flesh distributer. Lysander being grieved withal, said unto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppress your friends. And so do I, said Agesilaus, how to keep them under, that would be greater than myself. It may be yet (replied Lysander), I have not done as your grace doth say: yet if you so conceive of me, put me I beseech you in some place of charge or office, where I may do you good service without offence. After this talk between them, Age-

Lysander's noble mind

Agesilaus' deeds in Asia

silaus sent him into Hellespont, where by practice he took prisoner a nobleman a Persian, called Spithridates, out of Pharnabazus' province whereof he was governor, and brought him to Agesilaus with a great sum of gold and silver, and near about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgat not his grudge to Agesilaus, but being offended still, sought opportunity and means to defeat the two houses of the privilege of the kingdom, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of Sparta: and surely he had made great broil (in my opinion) in the city of Sparta, had he not been prevented by death, in a journey he made into Bœotia. Thus we see, that ambitious minds observing no mean, are in a common weal oft times more hurtful, than beneficial. For though Lysander was indeed intolerable, to shew himself so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not Agesilaus ignorant neither, that there were divers other means less reproachful to punish such a nobleman, that offended only by greediness of honour. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one self passion: the one not to know his prince's power, and the other not to bear with his friend's imperfection. Now Tisaphernes at the first being afraid of Agesilaus, made league with him, colourably letting him understand that the king would be content to set the cities of Greece in Asia at liberty. Notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed war. Agesilaus was very well content withal: for the expectation was great of him through all Greece, that he would do some noble exploit in his journey. Moreover he thought

himself dishonoured for ever, that the ten thousand Grecians which were returned back from the farthest part of Asia, even unto the sea maior (under the conduct and leading of Xenophon their captain) had overcome the king of Persia's army as oft as they listed themselves: and that he which was the lieutenant-general of the Lacedæmonians (who at that time commanded both sea and land) should not do some deed worthy memory among the Grecians. Presently therefore to revenge Tisaphernes' perjury by just deceit, he made a countenance as though he would first invade the country of Caria. Whereupon, this barbarous person Tisaphernes, gathered all his power together. But Agesilaus on a sudden returned back again, and entered into Phrygia, took there many cities, and wan great spoil, making his men see by experience, that to infringe and break a league made and avowed by oath, was a sacrilege, and contemning of the gods. On the other side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only just and honourable: but also profitable and pleasant. Now Agesilaus being weaker in horsemen then his enemy, and finding the livers of the beasts which he had sacrificed, without heads, returned into the city of Ephesus, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the rich men understand (which would not themselves serve in person) that he did dispense with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for service in their place. Many of them took that course, and by this means Agesilaus within few days had levied a great number of men of arms, instead of footmen that could do small service. For they that were un-

and the falsehood of Tisaphernes

Agesilaus' craft

willing to go to the wars, did hire them that were willing to serve in their place: and such also as would not serve ahorseback, did give them pay that were desirous to serve in their steads. In this he wisely followed King Agamemnon's example, who did dispense with the person of a rich coward for going to the wars, by taking a good mare of him. Then Agesilaus had commanded them that sold the prisoners by the drum taken in the wars, that they should strip them naked, and so sell them: which they did. And sundry persons willingly bought their spoils and raiment, but they scorned their bodies, because they saw them white skinned, soft, and delicate: so that few men would outbid the price for them, for that they thought those men unprofitable and good for nothing. Agesilaus also being present at this sale of purpose, said thus unto his men: See, my friends, quoth he: these be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoils for the which ye shall fight. Time being come now to put himself into the field, and to invade his enemies' country again, he gave it out that he would enter Lydia, not meaning to deceive Tisaphernes again, but Tisaphernes deceived himself. For he being deceived before by Agesilaus, gave no credit to this second rumour, but persuaded himself that doubtless Agesilaus meant then to enter into Caria, and the rather for that it was a woody country, very ill for horsemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, Agesilaus invading (as he had given it out) the champion country, in the which stood Sardis, the capital city of Lydia: Tisaphernes was compelled to come to rescue it in

haste, and being come thither with great speed with his horsemen, he stale upon many of his enemies whom he found straggling out of order, spoiling the country, and put the most of them to the sword. Agesilaus having intelligence of this, imagined with himself that the footmen of his enemy could not yet be arrived, and considering also that he had his army whole about him: thought it best forthwith to bid him battell, rather than to delay time any longer. Thereupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed footmen, and commanded them straight to charge the enemy, whilst he caused the heavier armed men to follow at their heels, as they did. But the barbarous people fled upon it immediately: and the Grecians lustily following the chase, took their camp, and made great slaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leisure enough not only to spoil and overrun the king's country at their pleasure, but also to see the revenge taken of Tisaphernes, that was a vile man, and a cruel enemy to the Grecians. For the king of Persia made another his lieutenant immediately in his room, called Tithraustes: who struck off Tisaphernes' head, and sent unto Agesilaus to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of gold and silver to depart out of his country. Thereto Agesilaus answered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the Lacedæmonians: and that for his own part, it was an easier matter to enrich his soldiers, than himself. And furthermore, that the Grecians thought it dishonour to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other than spoils. This notwithstanding, to gratify Tith-

His victory of Tisaphernes

Agesilaus made general of the navy

raustes somewhat, for that he had taken revenge of a common enemy of all the Grecians: for the sum of thirty talents given him to defray his charges, he withdrew his army out of Lydia, and went into Phrygia. In his journey he received from the council of Lacedæmon, the Scytala, or scroll of parchment wreathed about, advertising him that the citizens had made him also their general by sea, as he was by land. Agesilaus only of all men obtained this honour, who without comparison was of all other the worthiest man of fame in his time, as Theopompus witnesseth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, than for the greatness of his authority. In this notwithstanding he was to be blamed, when he made choice of one Pisander, his wive's brother, to be lieutenant of the navy, and forsook other captains of better experience and elder years: seeking rather to please his wife, and to advance one of his kin, than to regard the weal and safety of his country. Afterwards he led his army into Pharnabazus' country which he had in charge, where he found not only plenty of all sorts of victuals, but gathered together also a wonderful mass of money. From thence he went into the realm of Paphlagonia, and made league there with King Cotys: who for his vertue and constant fidelity, was very desirous of his friendship. The like did Spithridates, forsaking Pharnabazus, and came unto Agesilaus: and after he was come to him, he never went from him, but always followed him wheresoever he went. Spithridates had a young son that was passing fair, called Megabetes, (of whom Agesilaus had great liking) and likewise a fair young woman to his

daughter, of age to be married, whom Agesilaus caused King Cotys to marry. So, taking of King Cotys a thousand horsemen and two thousand footmen light armed, he returned back into Phrygia, and there destroyed Pharnabazus' country which he had in government, who durst not meet him in the field, nor trust to his holds, but still fled from him, carrying all his chiefest things with him, flitting from place to place: until that Spithridates, accompanied with Herippidas the Spartan, followed him so near, that he took his camp, and all his treasure in it. But there did Herippidas shew himself so hard and cruel, overstraitly searching out part of the spoil that had been embezzled, compelling the barbarous people to deliver it again, ransacking every corner for it: that Spithridates was so offended withal, that on a sudden he took the Paphlagonians with him, and went back unto the city of Sardis. This more grieved Agesilaus, than anything that happened to him in all his journey: for that he had lost so valiant a man as Spithridates, and such a number of good soldiers as he carried away with him. Moreover, he was afraid least they would detect him of miserable covetousness, a thing which he ever was careful to avoid, not only in his own person, but also to keep all his countrymen from it. But besides these known causes, the love he bare to Spithridates' son pinched him nearly: though when the boy was with him, he strived with his own nature to subdue that naughty affection and desire he had of him. For when Megabates on a time came to make much of him, and to kiss him: Agesilaus turned his face from the boy. The boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come

He drave Pharnabazus out of his tents

The meeting of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus

so familiarly, but saluted him aloof off. Agesilaus then repenting him that he had not suffered Megabates to kiss him, made as though he marvelled why he did not kiss him as he was wont to do. Then answered some of his familiars about him: Your self, O king, is in fault, because you durst not tarry, but were afraid to kiss so fair a boy. For if he knew your mind, he would come again, so that you turned your face no more away. When Agesilaus had heard them, he paused a while, and said never a word, but in fine answered them: It shall not need you say anything to him, for it would do me more good I could refuse such another kiss again, than if all that I see before me were gold. Thus was Agesilaus disposed when Megabates was with him: but in his absence he did so love him, that I dare scantly say, that if the boy had come again into his presence, he would have refused a kiss at his hands. After that, Pharnabazus sought to speak with him, and one Apollophanes a Cyzicenian brought them together, that was a friend unto them both. Agesilaus was the first that met at the place appointed with his friends, and tarrying for Pharnabazus' coming, he laid him down upon the deep grass in the shadow, under a fair great tree. Pharnabazus also came thither, and they spread soft skins long haired, and tapestry excellently wrought of divers colours, for him to sit on upon the ground. But being ashamed to see Agesilaus laid on the bare ground in that sort, he also lay down by him, though he had upon him a marvellous rich gown, of excellent tissue and passing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, Pharnabazus began first to speak, and lacked no good persuasions and

just complaints, for that he having been (as he was) a friend unto the Lacedæmonians in the war against the Athenians, was then spoiled and sacked by them. Agesilaus then finding that the Spartans that were about him at that meeting, hung down their heads for shame, not knowing how to answer him, considering that Pharnabazus had injury offered him: began to speak in this manner. Heretofore when we were friends with the king (my Lord Pharnabazus) we have used his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we use them: and since we see that thou wilt needs be a slave of his, marvel not though we hurt thee for his sake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a friend of the Grecians, than a slave to the king of Persia: then make account, that all these soldiers, this armour, our ships, and all we, are to defend thy goods and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortal men. Thereupon Pharnabazus told him his mind plainly: surely, said he, if the king do send hither any other captain to be his lieutenant, be sure I will then take your part straight. But on the other side, if he make me his lieutenant in this war, trust to it, I will do him the best service I can against you. This answer passingly pleased Agesilaus, who taking him by the hand, and rising up with him, said unto him: I would wish (my Lord Pharnabazus) having so noble a mind as thou hast, that thou were rather our friend, than an enemy. So Pharnabazus departing from thence with his men, his son being left behind, ran to Agesilaus, and smiling told him: King Agesilaus, I will make thee my friend: and therewith gave him a

Agesilaus' words unto Pharnabazus

Agesilaus to his friends was without respect a friend

dart he had in his hand. Agesilaus took it of him, and liking well the beauty of the young youth, and the courtesy he had offered him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his secretary Adæus' horse, which had a rich caparison on: he straight took it from him, and gave the horse and furniture to this lively youth Pharnabazus' son, who never after forgat it. For it chanced afterwards that being driven out of his country by his brethren, and flying into Peloponnesus, Agesilaus made very much of him, and did not stick to further him in his love abroad. For he had a great fancy and liking to a boy of Athens, whom they brought up in wrestling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was grown a big man and strong, and that he came to offer himself to be billed with them that should wrestle at the games Olympical, being in some peril to be utterly refused: this Persian that loved him, went unto Agesilaus, and besought his help, that this wrestler might not receive the foil to be rejected. Agesilaus being desirous to pleasure him, performed his request with some difficulty. Thus Agesilaus in all things else was a strict observer of the law: but in his friends' causes to be straightlaced in matters of justice, he said that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing for their friends. To this effect, they find a letter of his written unto Hidrieus, prince of Caria, for the delivery of his friend. If Nicias have not offended, let him go: if he have offended, then pardon him for my sake. But howsoever it be, let him go. This was Agesilaus' manner in the most part of his friends' causes.

Notwithstanding, occasions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driven to remove in haste on a sodain, and to leave one sick behind him whom he loved dearly: the sick man calling him by his name as he was going his way, besought him that he would not forsake him. Agesilaus (as Hieronymus the philosopher reporteth) turned back again, and said, O how hard is it both to love, and to be wise! Now had Agesilaus spent two years in this war, and was spoken of throughout Asia, being marvellously commended to the king himself, for his great honesty, his continency, his courtesy and plain dealing. For when he rode out into the country with his own train only, he would ever lie in the holiest temples of the gods: because he would the gods themselves should be witnesses of his private doings, whereas commonly we are loth that men should see what we do. Furthermore, amongst so many thousand soldiers as were in his camp, there could hardly be found a worse mattress, than that himself did lie upon every night. And as for heat and cold, he could as easily away with either of both, as if by constitution of body he had been born to abide any weather and season. But above all, it was a pleasant sight to the Grecians that dwelt in Asia, when they saw the great lords, the king's lieutenants of Persia, (which before were proud, cruel, rich, and given to all lust and pleasure) to honour and fear a man that went up and down in a poor cape, being afraid of every short word that he spake like a Laconian: insomuch as many of them called to mind Timotheus the poet's verses, who said:

Agesilaus' virtues

As Mars hath no mercy, so Greece scorneth gold.

Agesilaus sent for out of Asia

Now all Asia being up and in garboil, they willingly yielded to him in every place, after he had taken order with the cities, and had established the liberty of their common weal, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person: he determined to go farther, into the land, and transporting the wars from the seacoasts of Greece, to fight with the king of Persia in proper person, and with the wealth and happiness of the Ecbatanians and the Susianians, and by that means to take his leisure from him, who sitting still before, made the Grecians make war one with another, by force of money, corrupting the governors of every city. In the meantime came Epicydidas Laconian unto him, and brought him news how Sparta was grievously troubled with wars, enforced on them by the other Grecians: and that therefore the Ephori did send for him home, and commanded him to return to defend his country.

> Ah wretched Greece, how cruel slaughters hast
> Thou brought upon thee, for to lay thee waste!

For how should a man otherwise call this envy, treason, and civil conspiracy among the Grecians? Who overthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their wars against the barbarous people, out of Greece, and now to bring it against themselves. I am not of Demaratus' opinion the Corinthian, that said the Grecians' delight was taken from them, which saw not Alexander the Great sitting in Darius' royal throne: but rather I would think they should have wept, to have left this honour unto Alexander and the Macedonians, fondly losing so many famous

captains of Greece, at the battels of Leuctra, of Coronea, of Corinth, and of Arcadia. Nevertheless, Agesilaus never did better act in his life, nor ever shewed better example of obedience and justice due to his country, than he did in his return home. For sith Hannibal that began to have ill success in his wars, being in manner driven out of Italy, thought never (but compelled) to return again into his country, to obey his countrymen, which called him home to defend the war the Romans made at their own doors: and that Alexander the Great also being sent for home upon the like occasion did not only refuse to return into Macedon, but made a jest at it, when news was brought him of the great battell which his lieutenant Antipater had fought with King Agis, saying, methinks when I hear these news, whilst we are overcoming of King Darius here, there hath been a battell of rats fought in Arcadia. Sith then (I say) these two famous captains have made so little account of their country, may we not think the city of Sparta blessed to have had such a king, that so much reverenced his country and obeyed the law, as receiving only a little scroll of parchment commanding him to return, he forsook a world of goods and wealth that he quietly enjoyed (with assured hope and certainty of more) and embarked forthwith, leaving all the allies and cenfederates of his country very sorrowful, for that he had given over so noble an enterprise, which he had so happily begun? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for the saying of Demostratus Phæacian, who said, that the Lacedæmonians in public matters were the worthiest men, and the Athenians in private causes. For as

His obedience to his country

How Agesilaus returned home

he had shewed himself a good king and an excellent captain to the common wealth: so was he always courteous privately to his familiar friends. And because the Persian coin was stamped on the one side, with the print of an archer: Agesilaus being ready to depart, said, that ten thousand archers drave him out of Asia. For so much was brought unto Thebes and Athens, and distributed among the orators and governors there, who through their orations made both those great cities to rise, and make war against the Spartans. In his return, Agesilaus having passed the straight of Hellespont, took his way through the country of Thracia, and never entreated barbarous king nor people to suffer him to pass, but only sent unto them to know whether they would he should pass through the countries as a friend, or an enemy. All countries and nations else received him very honourably to their power, save the people called the Trochalians, unto whom King Xerxes himself gave presents that he might pass friendly through their country: who sent unto Agesilaus to demand a hundred silver talents, and a hundred women to suffer him to pass through their country. But Agesilaus laughing them to scorn, answered again: Why, how chanceth it that they came not themselves to receive them? So therewithal he marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell ray to stop his passage: howbeit he overthrew them, and slew a great number of them in the field. The like demand he made unto the king of Macedon, whether he should pass through his country as a friend, or an enemy. The king made him answer, he would consider of it. Well, let him think of

it, quoth Agesilaus: we will go on in the meantime. The king then wondering at his great boldness, and fearing lest he would do him some hurt as he went: sent to pray him that he would pass through his country as a friend. Now it chanced so that the Thessalians at that time were in league with the enemies of the Lacedæmonians: therefore as he passed through their country, he did spoil and forage it as his enemies' country, and sent Xenocles and Scythes to the city of Larissa, hoping to persuade them to take part with the Lacedæmonians. These two ambassadors were retained there as prisoners. The Spartans were marvellously offended withal: and thought good that Agesilaus should besiege Larissa with his army. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to win all Thessaly: and therefore found means that he redeemed them again by composition. Peradventure this is not to be marvelled at in Agesilaus, that news being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the city of Corinth, where were many worthy and valiant captains slain of the enemies, and but few of the Spartans: he seemed not to rejoice at it, but rather to fetch a grievous sigh, saying: O poor Greece, how unfortunate art thou to have slain with thine own hands so many valiant captains of thine own people, as joining together, might at one field have overcome all the barbarous people! The Pharsalians harrying and troubling the rearward of Agesilaus' army, he put forth five hundred horsemen which gave them so lusty a charge, that he overthrew them by force. For this victory, he set up tokens of triumph upon the

Agesilaus overcame the Pharsalians

Pisander slain in battel

mountain called Narthacium, and this victory pleased him above all the rest, because with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of himself, he had overthrown the glory and pride of the enemies' horsemen in battell, whereof they had vaunted many years before. Thither came Diphridas one of the Ephors unto him, sent of purpose from Sparta, to command him immediately to invade Bœotia with his army. Now though Agesilaus intended some other time with a greater power to enter Bœotia, yet because he would not disobey the council's commandment of Sparta: he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of Asia, was at hand, and therefore he sent for two companies of them which lay in camp by Corinth. The Lacedæmonians that were at Sparta, to honour Agesilaus for that he had obeyed their commandment so readily: proclaimed in the city, that as many young men as were desirous to go aid the king, should come to enter their names. Notwithstanding, they only chose but fifty of the valiantest among them, and sent them unto him. In the meantime, Agesilaus passed through the country of Thermopylæ, and coasting over the land of Phocis, confederates to the Lacedæmonians, he entered into Bœotia, and camped by the city of Chæronea: where immediately after his arrival, he suddenly saw the sun eclipsed, and darkned in the fashion of a new moon. Even withal, came the news of the death of Pisander unto him, who was slain in a battel which he lost by sea, fighting against Pharnabazus and Conon, hard by the isle of Gnidos. These news were very heavy unto him, both for respect

of the person his kinsman whom he lost, as also for the great loss that happened to the common wealth. Nevertheless, fearing his soldiers would be discouraged with the news, and become faint hearted, being ready to join battell: he commanded them that came from the sea, to bruit abroad a contrary tale to that they told him, and he himself to make good their speech, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to the gods, as thanking them for the good news, sending to every one of his friends a piece of flesh sacrificed, as he commonly used to do, in any public cause of joy. Then marching forward, he straight discovered his enemies far off, and they likewise him: and thereupon put his men in battell ray, and gave the left wing unto the Orchomenians, leading himself the right wing. The Thebans on the other side, placed themselves in the right wing of their army, and gave the left unto the Argives. Xenophon being at that battel on Agesilaus' side, writeth that he never knew of the like field fought. At the first onset, the conflict was not great between both, neither held long, because the Thebans brake the Orchomenians straight, and Agesilaus the Argives. But when either side understood that the left wings of their battels were in great distress, and that they turned their backs: they returned suddenly again. And where Agesilaus might easily have had the victory without any danger, if he had suffered the squadron of the enemies to pass by him, and afterwards to have charged them in the rearward: of a noble courage to shew his valiantness, he gave charge upon the vward, to have honour in overcoming them. The Thebans on

Agesilaus' battle with the Thebans

The worthiness of Agesilaus

the other side no less valiantly received him, and fought lustily on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about Agesilaus' person, with the fifty young men that were sent to guard him, who shewed themselves very valiant. Agesilaus was sore hurt, notwithstanding their valiant resistance, his armour being passed through with their pikes and swords in sundry places: whereupon they environed him round amongst them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of them, and many of themselves also being killed. In fine, finding the Thebans too strong in the voward, they were forced to do that which they refused at the first: and opening themselves, gave them passage through them. So when they were passed them, the Spartans perceiving how loosely and disorderly they marched, as thinking themselves out of all danger, followed them, and gave charge upon their flank. But all this could not make the Thebans fly: for they rejoicing for their victory at this battell, retired fair and softly unto the mountain Helicon. But Agesilaus, notwithstanding he was very sore hurt, with many a grievous wound, would not go into his pavilion to be dressed before he had been first at the place where the battell was fought, and had seen his men that were slain brought away in their armours. As many of his enemies as were fled into the temple of Minerva Itonian, which was not far from thence: (where also were set up tokens of triumph offered unto her long time before by the Thebans, when they had overcome the army of the Athenians, under the conduct of Sparton their captain, and had slain also Tolmides their captain in the field) he commanded his men they should

let them go where they would. The next morning by break of day, Agesilaus desirous to see if the Thebans had any courage to come down to fight again: commanded his soldiers to put garlands upon their heads, and his musicians to sound their shalms or pipes, whilst he did set up a token of triumph as victorious. Moreover, his enemies sending to him to ask leave to take away their dead men, he granted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victory. After that, being carried to the city of Delphes, where the Pythian games were played, he made a solemn procession and common sacrifice unto Apollo, and offered him the tenth part of all his spoils which he had brought out of Asia, which amounted to the sum of an hundred talents. This thing done, he returned into his country, where he was greatly honoured and esteemed of all his citizens and countrymen, for his orderly life and noble behaviour: for he was no changeling, but the self same man in state and condition that he was before he took his journey. He transformed not himself into strangers' manners, as commonly other captains do, that return out of a far country where they have made wars: neither did he scorn his country fashions, or shewed himself disobedient to the laws thereof, but always kept and observed them, without any manner of alteration in his meat or drink, in washing or bathing, in his wife's apparel, in his armoury, or any way else in his household stuff, as if he had never passed over the river of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his old gates standing that were of so great continuance, that they were thought to be those which Aristodemus had set up. Xenophon also

His constancy

Xenophon great about Agesilaus

sayeth, that his daughters' cannathrum was nothing more sumptuous than any other's were. A cannathrum in Lacedæmon, is a kind of coach or chariot after the likeness of griffins, harts, or goats: upon the which they carried young wenches in solemn processions in the city. Xenophon wrote not what was the name of this daughter of Agesilaus: and Dicæarchus also was much offended, that they neither knew Agesilaus' daughter's name, nor yet the mother of Epaminondas. Yet we find in the Laconian Chronicles, that Agesilaus' wive's name was Cleora, one of his daughters called Apolia, and the other Prolyta. Moreover, Agesilaus' spear is seen to this day in the city of Sparta, even like unto others, and no manner of difference. Now Agesilaus perceiving certain citizens of Sparta to stand upon their reputation, and esteeming themselves above others, because they kept horse in their stable: persuaded his sister Cynisca to send her coach and coach horses to the Olympian games to run for the best prize, only to let the Grecians see that it was no act of any vertue, but simply of riches and cost. Furthermore having Xenophon the philosopher about him, whom he loved and made great account of, he persuaded him to send for his sons to Lacedæmon, that they might be brought up there, where they should learn the noblest science that men could possibly learn, to wit, to obey, and to command. When Lysander was dead, Agesilaus at his return out of Asia, found a great faction and conspiracy raised by his means against him in Sparta: and because it might appear what manner of citizen Lysander was when he lived, he was likely to have openly shewed and

declared an oration which he found among his writings (the which the orator Cleon Halicarnassius had written for him, and Lysander should have conned without book, to have spoken in open assembly) that was to stir innovation, and in manner have made a change of the whole government of the common wealth of Lacedæmon. Howbeit there was a grave counsellor that having read the oration, and doubting the apparent reasons and persuasions alleged, told him, that he would wish him not to pluck up the dead again out of his grave, but rather to bury this oration together with his body. Agesilaus liked the counsel, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had been his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the means to make some of them to be sent as lieutenant of army, or otherwise to have charge in the wars. In fine, he made it openly known, what covetous and wicked men they had been in their charges: so that when they were accused of it before the council, he would then help and entreat for them. By this means he made them again his friends, where they had been his enemies: insomuch as in the end, he had not one enemy at all. For the other king Agesipolis his colleague, whose father had been banished: he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, meddled not greatly with government of the common wealth. Nevertheless, he so behaved himself unto Agesilaus, that he made him his very good friend: for both the kings when they were in the city, did eat together in one hall. Then Agesilaus knowing that Agesipolis (as himself) was given to love, would ever minister talk to

The policy of Agesilaus, to win his enemies

Teleutias made general of the army by sea

him of the goodly young boys of the city, enticing him to love some one of them, which he himself did love: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these Laconian loves there was no manner of dishonesty offered, but a true affection and honest regard to frame the boy beloved unto vertue and honest conditions: as we have more amply declared in the life of Lycurgus. Agesilaus by this means, having the whole authority (above all men in the city) in his hands: made his half-brother Teleutias general by sea, and himself with the army by land went to besiege the city of Corinth, where with his brother's help by sea he took the long walls of the same. The Argives which kept Corinth at that time, at Agesilaus' arrival there were solemnising the feast of the Isthmian games: who made them fly, even as they came from sacrificing unto the god Neptune, driving them to leave all their preparation and solemnity. Then divers banished men of Corinth that were in his army, besought him that he would keep these Isthmian games. But he denied them, yet was contented they should themselves solemnise them, and so himself remained there, during the time of the feast, for their safety. Afterwards when Agesilaus was gone thence, the Argives returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games, and there were some of them which having won the game at the first, did also win it at the second time: and others that were victors before, were this second time overcome. Whereupon Agesilaus said, that the Argives shewed themselves rank cowards, that esteeming so much (as they did) these plays and sacrifices, they durst not once

offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For himself, touching such like sports and games, he ever thought it good to keep a mean, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour such solemn assemblies and common feasts with his presence, as were commonly used in Sparta, and took great pleasure to see the sports between the young boys and girls of Sparta: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that Callipides an excellent stage player (wonderfully esteemed of among the Grecians for a singular man in that art) meeting Agesilaus on a time, at the first did his duty to him, and then arrogantly thrust himself among them that walked with him, thinking the king would have made much of him: but perceiving he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him, O king Agesilaus, do you not know me? Agesilaus looking upon him, answered: What, art not thou Callipides the stage player? And so made no further account of him. Another time being desired to hear a man that naturally counterfeited the nightingale's voice: he would not hear him, saying, I have oftentimes heard the nightingale itself. Another time also when Menecrates the physician (having by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called himself Jupiter, and arrogantly usurped that name, presuming in a letter he wrote unto Agesilaus, to subscribe it in this manner, Menecrates Jupiter, unto King Agesilaus, greeting: Agesilaus wrote again unto him, Agesilaus unto Menecrates, health. So, whilst Agesilaus was in the territory of Corinth (where he had

Certain apothegms of Agesilaus

The victory of Iphicrates

taken the temple of Juno) beholding his soldiers foraging and spoiling the country round about: ambassadors came to him from Thebes, to pray him to make peace with the Thebans. But he that always hated the Thebans, and besides that thought it then very requisite for the good success of his doings, to make light of it: seemed as he neither heard nor saw them that spake unto him. But even at that very instant, as by divine revenge to cry quittance, there fell a great mishap upon him. For before the ambassadors were gone from him, he had news that one of their bands called the Mothers, were slain every man by Iphicrates: which was the greatest loss that they in long time before had sustained. For they lost a great number of valiant soldiers, all natural Lacedæmonians: who being well armed every man, were slain by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon Agesilaus went straight into the field with hope to save them, or at the least to be revenged. But receiving certain intelligence by the way that they were all slain, he returned again to the temple of Juno from whence he came, and then sent for the ambassadors of the Bœotians, to give them audience. But they, to requite his former disdain unto them, made no manner of speech of peace, but only requested him to suffer them to enter into Corinth. Agesilaus being offended, answered them: If it be to see your friends' triumph of their victory, ye may safely do it to-morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the ambassadors with him, he destroyed the Corinthians' country, even to the walls of their city. And when he had made the ambassadors see, that the citizens of Corinth durst not come

out into the field to defend their country: he gave them leave to depart. Then taking the remain of that band that was overthrown, which by flight had escaped: he brought them into Lacedæmon again, always removing his camp before day, and never encamped till dark night, because the Arcadians (their mortal enemies) should not rejoice at their loss. After this voyage, to gratify the Achaians, he entered in with them into the country of Acarnania, and brought great spoils from thence, after he had overcome them in battell. Moreover, when the Achaians besought him to remain with them all the winter, to keep their enemies from sowing of their ground: he made them answer he would not. For, said he, they will be afraid of war the next year, when all their fields shall be sown with corn: and so indeed it came to pass. For the army returning again they made peace incontinently with the Achaians. About that time, Pharnabazus and Conon, with the king of Persia's army, being lords of the sea without let of any, destroyed and spoiled all the coast of Laconia. Moreover, the city of Athens did rear up her walls again by help of Pharnabazus' money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereupon the Lacedæmonians thought good to make peace with the king of Persia, and to that end sent Antalcidas ambassador unto Tiribazus, most shamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the Grecians inhabiting in Asia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had made wars with him before. So, it was Agesilaus' hap not to be foiled with any part of his shame: for Antalcidas that was his enemy, sought all the means he could to conclude this peace, for that he saw war did daily increase the authority, honour,

Antalcidas' peace

Agesilaus' praise of justice

and fame of Agesilaus. Notwithstanding, he answered one then, that reproved him for that the Lacdæmonians did favour the Medes: No, said he, they do not so, but the Medes do play the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, threatening war to all the Grecians, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yield unto that the king of Persia liked. But surely he did this chiefly for respect of the Thebans, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to set the country of Bœotia at liberty again, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soon after by that that followed. For Phœbidas having committed a foul act, in open peace to take the castle of the city of Thebes, called Cadmea, offending thereby all the other Grecians (and the Spartans themselves also not being very well pleased withal, and those specially which were Agesilaus' enemies) Phœbidas being asked in great anger, at whose commandment he had done that sudden enterprise, to lay all the suspicion of the fact upon him: Agesilaus for Phœbidas' discharge, letted not openly to say, that the quality of the fact was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his country to do it of his own head without commandment. All this notwithstanding he was wont to say in private talk, that justice was the chiefest of all vertues, and therefore that valiantness without justice was of no validity, and that if all men were just, valiantness were of no estimation. And to them that told him, the great king will have it so: Why, said he, and wherein is he better than myself, if he

be not juster? Judging very wisely therein, that they should esteem a king (whether he were of great or small power) by his justice, as by the beam of princely balance. When peace was concluded, the king of Persia having sent him a private letter desiring his friendship, Agesilaus refused it, saying: That common friendship was enough betwixt them, and that they should need none other, so long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the point of performance, he went from his first good opinion, and gave place to his will and ambition, specially against the Thebans, at that time when he did not only save Phœbidas, but also procured the city of Sparta to take the fault upon them which he had committed, and to justify it, by keeping the castell of Cadmea still, and making Archias and Leontidas governors of the city of Thebes, by whom Phœbidas came by the castell of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon every man thought straight, that Phœbidas was he that had put the matter in execution, and that Agesilaus gave the counsel to do it: as things falling out afterwards, did manifestly prove the suspicion true. For, after that the Thebans had driven the garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the castle of Cadmea, and restored their city again to liberty, burthening them that they had traitorously slain Archias and Leontidas (who indeed were tyrants, though in name governors) he made war with them: and Cleombrotus, reigning then king with him after Agesipolis' death, was sent before into Bœotia with an army, Agesilaus was dispensed with by law for going any more to the wars, by reason of his age, for that he was forty years old from the first growth of hair on

The taking of the Cadmea

Sphodrias' practise to take the haven of Piræus

his face, and therefore went not that journey: being ashamed that the Thebans should now see him fight to revenge the tyrants' deaths, who had but a little before taken arms for the banished men, against the Phliasians. At that time there was a Laconian called Sphodrias, of the contrary faction unto Agesilaus: and was then governor in the city of Thespiæ, a valiant and stout man of his hands, but ever fuller of vain hope, than of good judgement. He desiring fame, and supposing that Phœbidas came to dignity and great estimation through his valiant enterprise at Thebes: persuaded himself that he should win much more honour, if of himself he took the haven of Piræus suddenly stealing upon the Athenians by land, cutting them off by that means from all trade by sea. It was thought commonly that this was a practice devised by Pelopidas and Gelon, governors of Bœotia, who had allured certain men to feign themselves very devout and friendly to the Lacedæmonians. These men praising and extolling Sphodrias to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worthy as himself alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their persuasions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vileness was nothing inferior unto that treacherous winning of the castell Cadmea at Thebes: although it was attempted with less hardiness and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plain of Thriasium, where he made account to have been at the walls of Piræus by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him seeing certain fires from the temples of the city of Eleusis, were all afraid and amazed: yea he himself also fainted perceiving he was dis-

covered, and so returned back with shame and dishonour to the city of Thespiæ, without any exploit done, saving only a little spoil taken. Thereupon accusers were straight sent from Athens unto Sparta, who upon their arrival found that they needed not to accuse him, for that the council and governors of the city had already sent for him to come unto them, to condemn him of high treason. But he durst not return to Sparta, fearing the fury of his countrymen, thinking indeed that they would seem as though the wrong had been done to them, because it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This Sphodrias had a son called Cleonymus, a very fair boy, with whom Archidamus (Agesilaus' son) was far in love: who then was marvellous sorry to see this boy he loved, in so great danger to lose his father, and yet durst not be seen to help him, because Sphodrias was one of Agesilaus' adversaries. Notwithstanding, Cleonymus making his moan to him with the tears in his eyes, and praying him to pacify his father Agesilaus (whom they feared above all men else) Archidamus followed his father three or four days together, and durst not break the matter to him: in fine, the day of the next session being at hand, when judgement should be given of Sphodrias, he boldly ventured to tell him, how that Cleonymus had prayed him to be an humble suitor to him touching his father's fact. Agesilaus understanding that his son loved Cleonymus, would not withdraw him from loving of him, because the boy even from his childhood gave always good hope that one day he would sure make as honest a man as any other whatsoever; neither made he any countenance to his son,

Sphodrias accused of treason

How Sphodrias was saved from death

as though he would do anything at his suit, but only answered him, for that, he would do as became him in such a case. Whereupon Archidamus being bashful, left coming any more to Cleonymus, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made Sphodrias' friends despair of his life more than before, until Etymocles, one of Agesilaus' familiars talking with them, told them that for the fact itself, Agesilaus thought it a shameful deed, and as much misliked it as might be: but for Sphodrias self, that he took him for a valiant man, and saw that the common wealth had need of men of such service. This was Agesilaus' common talk to please his son, when any man came to speak to him of Sphrodias' accusation. Insomuch that Cleonymus found straight that Archidamus had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be, and then Sphodrias' friends also took heart again unto them, to solicit his cause, and to be earnest suitors for him. Agesilaus among other had this special property, that he loved his children dearly: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his house when they were little ones, and ride upon a little cock horse, or a reed, as on horseback. Insomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the manner, playing among his children: he prayed him to say nothing, till he had little children himself. In fine, Sphodrias was quit by his judges. The Athenians understanding it, sent to proclaim war with the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon Agesilaus was much reproved, because that to please the fond affection of his son, he had hindered justice, and brought his city to be accused among

the Græcians for such grievous crimes. Agesilaus perceiving that King Cleombrotus his companion went with no very goodwill to make war with the Thebans, he breaking the order set down for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the wars himself in person, and so invading Bœotia he both received and did great hurt. Whereupon Antalcidas seeing him hurt one day, Now truly (said he) the Thebans have paid you your deserved hire, for teaching them against their wills to be soldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For indeed they say the Thebans became better soldiers and warriors than they were before, being daily trained and exercised in arms through the continual invasions of the Lacedæmonians. Also, this was the reason, why the old father Lycurgus in his laws called Rhetra, did forbid them to make war too oft with one self people, because that by compulsion they should not be made expert soldiers. For this cause did the confederates of Lacedæmon hate Agesilaus, saying, that it was not for any known offence to the state, but for very spite and private malice of his own, that he sought to undo the Thebans in this manner: and that to follow his humour, they consumed themselves going yearly to the wars one while this way, another while that way, without any necessity at all, following a few Lacedæmonians, themselves being always the greater number. Then it was, that Agesilaus desiring to make them see what number of men of war they were, used this device. On a time he commanded all the allies to sit down together one with another by themselves, and the Lacedæmonians

Agesilaus' journey into Bœotia

Agesilaus fell suddenly sick

also by themselves. Then he made a herald proclaim that all pot makers should stand up on their feet. When they were up, he made him cry to the brasiers to rise also. After them in like manner, the carpenters: then the masons, and so consequently all occupations one after another. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamation, were all in manner on their feet. The Lacedæmonians, not one of them rose: because all base mechanical crafts were forbidden them to occupy. Then Agesilaus laughing at them, Lo, my friends said he: do ye not see now that we bring more soldiers to the field, than ye do? At his return from this journey of Thebes, passing by the city of Megara, as he went up into the council house within the castell, there suddenly took him a great cramp in his left leg, that swelled extremely, and put him to great pain, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the vein. A physician of Syracusa in Sicily being there, straight opened a vein under the ankle of his foot, which made the pain to cease: notwithstanding there came such abundance of blood, that they could not staunch it, so that he sounded oft, and was in great danger of present death. In fine, a way was found to stop it, and they carried him to Lacedæmon, where he lay sick a long time, so that he was past going to the wars any more. The Spartans in the meantime received great overthrows both by sea and land, and among other, their greatest overthrow was at the battell of Leuctra, where the Thebans overcame and slew them in plain battell. Then the Grecians were all of one mind to make a general peace, and thereupon came

ambassadors and the deputies from all the cities of Greece, and met at Lacedæmon to that end. One of these deputies was Epaminondas, a notable learned man, and a famous philosopher, but as yet unskilful in wars. He seeing how the other ambassadors curried favour with Agesilaus, only he of the rest kept his gravity to speak freely, and made an oration, not for the Thebans alone, but for all Greece in general, declaring to them all, how wars did only increase the greatness and power of the city of Sparta, and contrarily did minish and decay all other cities and towns of Greece: and for this cause, that he did counsel them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all, to the end it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. Agesilaus perceiving then that all the Grecians present at the assembly gave him good ear, and were glad to hear him speak thus boldly of peace: asked him openly, if he thought it meet and reasonable, that all Bœotia should be set clear at liberty again? Epaminondas presently and boldly again asked him: If he thought it just and requisite to set all Laconia clear again at liberty? Agesilaus being offended therewith, stood upon his feet, and commanded him to answer plainly whether they would set all Bœotia at liberty or not? Epaminondas replied unto him with the self speech again, and asked him whether they would let all Laconia at liberty or not? That nettled Agesilaus so, that (besides he was glad of such a cloke, for the old grudge he ever bare unto the Thebans) he presently put the name of the Thebans out of the bill of those, which should have been comprised

The strife betwixt Agesilaus and Epaminondas

The Lacedæmonians slain

within the league, and cried open wars upon them in the market-place. For the rest, he licensed the other deputies and ambassadors of the people of Greece to depart, with this conclusion: that they should lovingly take order among themselves for the controversies betwixt them, if they could peaceably agree together, and they that could not fall to such agreement, that then they should try it by wars, for that it was a hard thing to take up all quarrels among them. King Cleombrotus by chance was at that time in the country of Phocis with his army, unto whom the Ephori wrote that he should forthwith spoil the Thebans' country: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aid them, which had no great fancy to the journey, and were loth to make war with them, but yet durst not refuse to go, nor disobey the Lacedæmonians. And notwithstanding that there were many signs presaging ill-luck, as we have written in the life of Epaminondas, and that Prothoüs Laconian was against the enterprise of this war all that he could: Agesilaus would needs forward, hoping he had now found opportunity to be revenged of the Thebans, sith all Greece besides was in peace and at liberty, themselves only exempted from treaty of peace. If there had been no other thing in it but the very shortness of time, that made it manifest enough that this war was begun in a gear, without any manner of reason. For the general peace amongst the Grecians was concluded at Sparta the fourteenth of May, and the Lacedæmonians were overcome at the battell of Leuctra the fifteenth of June: so as there was but twenty days between them. There were slain

a thousand Lacedæmonians with their king Cleombrotus, and the choicest and valiantest Spartans about him. Among them was also slain that goodly young man Cleonymus, Sphodrias' son, of whom we spake before: who having been beaten down thrice at the king's foot, three times got up again, but at the length was slain, valiantly fighting against the Thebans. This great overthrow chancing to the Lacedæmonians unlooked for, and withal so glorious a victory unto the Thebans, as Grecians fighting with Grecians had never the like: the vanquished city of Sparta notwithstanding deserved no less honour and commendation for her fortitude and worthiness, than did the victorious city of Thebes. For as Xenophon writeth, that as amongst good men even in table talk, and in their sports and mirth there falleth out ever something of wit worth the noting and bearing away: even so in like case, no less, but rather more, ought noble men's words to be weighed, and their countenances marked as well in adversity as in prosperity. At that time by chance there was a common feast day in the city of Sparta, which was full of strangers that came to see the dances and sports of them that shewed naked in the theatre, when as the messengers arrived that brought the news of the battell lost at Leuctra. The Ephori knowing then that the rumour straight ran all about, that they were all undone, and how they had lost the signiory and commandment over all Greece: would not suffer them for all this to break off their dance in the theatre, nor the city in anything to change the form of their feast, but sent unto the parents to every man's house, to let them understand the

at the battle of Leuctra

The constancy and fortitude of the Spartans

names of them that were slain at the battell, they themselves remaining still in the theatre to see the dances and sports continued, to judge who carried the best games away. The next morning when every man knew the number of them that were slain, and of those also that were escaped: the parents and friends of them that were dead, met in the market-place, looking cheerfully of the matter, and one of them embraced another. On the other side, the parents of them that scaped, kept their houses with their wives, as folk that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses, for any matter of necessity: ye should see him look so heavily and sad, that he durst not talk with you, lift up his head, nor look ye in the face. Besides all this, even amongst the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of them that were to return from the battell, were sad and sorrowful, and spake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers of them that were slain, went friendly to visit one another, to rejoice together. Now when the people saw that their confederates began to forsake them, and did daily look that Epaminondas glorying in his victory, would invade Peloponnesus: than they began to be pricked in conscience about the oracles of the gods, thinking that this misfortune came to their city, for that they had thrust out of the kingdom a man perfect of limbs, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the gods to beware of that above all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valiantness, and his authority was such thereby, that they did not only use him in war, as

their king and sovereign captain; but in civil causes also wherein there rose any question, they ever used his counsel and advice. As they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penal laws) that fled from the battell, whom they call at Sparta Tresantes, (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses and of greatest power within the city) least they should move some stir or commotion among them. (For by law, they can bear no office in the common wealth. It is shame and reproach to give them any wives, and also to marry any of theirs. Whosoever meeteth them may lawfully strike them, and they must abide it, and not give them a word again. They are compelled to wear poor tattered cloth gowns patched with cloth of divers colours: and worst of all, to shave the one side of their beards, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the danger great to deal with them, to execute the law according to the infamy they deserved, specially then standing in need of a great number of men of war: they referred themselves altogether unto Agesilaus, to take such order in it as he thought good. But Agesilaus then, without changing or altering anything of the law, said in open assembly at Lacedæmon: that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policy he kept the law inviolate, and saved also the honour of those poor men: and withal, to put these youths again in heart, being amazed with this fear, he led the army into the country of Arcadia, and would give no battell, but only took a small city of the Mantineans, and foraged the country. This again did

Punishment at Sparta for cowardly soldiers

Epaminondas invadeth Laconia

a little revive the city of Sparta with some hope, to make that it should not utterly despair. But shortly after, Epaminondas invaded the country of Laconia, with forty thousand footmen well armed, besides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his camp for the spoil: so that in all, there were about three score and ten thousand fighting men that came in with him to invade Laconia. It was well near six hundred years sith the Dorians possessed Lacedæmon, and in all that time till then they never saw enemies in their country that durst invade them: but then they sacked and burnt all that came in their way, even unto the river of Eurotas, and hard adjoining unto Sparta, and no man durst come out to resist them. For Agesilaus (as Theopompus writeth) would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to go out to fight against such a tempest and fury of war, but having fortified the middest of the city, and guarded every end of the streets with soldiers, he patiently bare all the brags and threats of the Thebans, which challenged him out to fight, and bade him come into the field to defend his country, that only was the cause of all these their calamities, having himself procured this war. If this went to Agesilaus' heart, no less grievous were these troubles to him that rose within the city. As the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which were mad to see that they did before their eyes: and of seely women also, which no ground nor place could hold, but ran up and down, as straught of their wits, to hear the noise the enemies made, and to see the fire which they raised all the fields over. Much more sorrowful

also did this make him, when as he bethought himself, that entering into his kingdom at such time as the city of Sparta was in the greatest prosperity that ever it was, he now saw his honour eclipsed, and the glory of his kingdom overthrown: and the rather, for that himself had often vaunted, that Laconian women had never seen the smoke of any enemies' camp. And as they say of Antalcidas one day, that he answered an Athenian that contended with him about the valiantness of one another's nation, alleging for himself, that the Athenians had often driven the Lacedæmonians from the river of Cephisus. It is true, said the Laconian: but we did never drive you from the river of Eurotas. The like answer made a mean man of Sparta, to one of the Argives that cast him in the teeth, there are divers of your Laconians buried in the country of Argolid: so are there none of yours, said he, buried in Laconia. It is reported, that Antalcidas, being one of the Ephori at that time, did secretly send his children into the isle of Cithera, fearing least the city of Sparta should be taken. Agesilaus perceiving that the enemies forced to pass over the river, to enter the city: he stood to defend the middle part of the city, being the highest place of the same, and there had his men set in order of battell. Now at that time, by chance the river of Eurotas was swelled greater than of ordinary, by reason of the snow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the Thebans with the coldness, than roughness of the same, in passing it over. Some shewing Agesilaus how Epaminondas marched foremost before his battell, he beheld him a great

Certain witty answers

Conspiracies at Lacedæmon

while, and his eye was never off him, saying never a word but this only: Oh, what a noble fellow is that! Epaminondas having done all that he could possible to give the Lacedæmonians battell, even within the city self of Sparta, that he might there have set up some tokens of triumph, he could never entice Agesilaus to come out of his fort: wherefore he was driven in the end to depart thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the country. There fell out a conspiracy of two hundred men in Sparta, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and took that quarter of the city where the temple of Diana stood, called Issorium, a place of strong situation, and ill to distress. Hereupon the Lacedæmonians in fury would straight have set upon them. But Agesilaus fearing great mutiny and stir upon it: commanded that no man should stir, and himself unarmed, in a poor gown went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye have not obeyed my commandment. This is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to disperse yourselves, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the city. The traitors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewrayed: and so leaving that strength, went into those parts of the city that he had shewed them. Agesilaus then bringing others thither, possessed the fort of Issorium, and took fifteen of those conspirators, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out another conspiracy far greater than the first, of the Spartans themselves which were secretly gotten together

into a house, to make some sudden stir and garboil, and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on the other side to neglect it, the conspiracy was over dangerous. Agesilaus having consulted with the Ephori, did put them all to death, without any judgement of law, never Spartans before them suffering death, without due order of law. Again, whereas divers of their neighbours, and of the Helots themselves, (whom they had billed in their bands for soldiers) stale away, and ran to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they should every day go to their couches where they lay, and that they should take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the number of them that were fled in this sort. Now for the departure of the Thebans, some say that they went out of Laconia by reason of the winter that came on, whereupon the Arcadians discharged their bands, and every one departed his way in disorder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three months together, during which time they destroyed the most part of the country. Theopompus writeth notwithstanding, that the captains of the Thebans having determined to depart, there came one Phrixus a Spartan unto them, sent from Agesilaus, who brought them ten talents that they should depart out of their country. Thus had they money given them to defray their charges homewards, to do that, which they themselves had long before determined to have done. And yet do I wonder, how it is possible that all other historiographers knew nothing of this, and that Theopompus only could tell of it. All do

The departure of the Thebans

The Tearless Battle

acknowledge truly, that Agesilaus only was the cause that the city of Sparta was saved: who leaving his ambition and self will, being passions born with him, did wisely foresee their safety. Nevertheless, after this great overthrow, he could never raise Sparta again to her former greatness. For like as a whole body, which having acquainted itself continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfeit presently, and so putteth all in danger: even so Lycurgus having framed a perfect state of government in the common wealth of Sparta, to make her citizens live in peace and amity together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdoms and realms, the which the good law-maker thought unmeet to continue happy life: they were straight overthrown and all went to wrack. By this time Agesilaus was grown old, and could no more go to the wars for very age: but his son Archidamus, with the aid which Dionysius the tyrant of Syracusa sent unto them, wan a battell against the Arcadians, called the tearless battell: for there died not one of his men, and they slew a great number of their enemies. This victory plainly shewed the great weakness and decay of the city of Sparta. For in former times it was so common a thing unto them to overcome their enemies in battell, that they did sacrifice nothing else to the gods in token of thanks, within the city, but a poor cock: and they that had fought the battell made no boast of it: neither did they that heard the news rejoice greatly at it. For when they had won that great battell at the city of Mantinea, which Thucydides describeth: the Ephori only sent the messenger that brought the news for reward, a piece of powdered meat, and no other thing. But

then, when news was brought of this victory, and that they understood Archidamus came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keep the city, but the father himself went first of all to meet him, with the tears in his eyes for joy, and after him all the other magistrates and officers of the city, and a swarm of old folk both men and women came down to the river's side, holding up their hands to heaven, and thanking the gods, as if their city had redeemed and recovered her shame and lost honour, and began now to rise again, as before it did. For until that time, some say, that the husbands durst not boldly look their wives in the faces, they were so ashamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the city of Messené being by Epaminondas re-edified and replenished with people, he called home again out of all parts, the natural inhabitants of the same. The Spartans durst not fight with him (nor to hinder his purpose) though it spited them to the hearts, and were angry with Agesilaus, for that in his reign they had lost all that territory, which was as great as all Laconia self, and that for goodness and fertility compared with the best parts of all Greece, the which they had quietly possessed many years before. And this was the cause why Agesilaus would not agree to the peace, which the Thebans sent to offer him: and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the enemies kept in deeds. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recovering the thing he looked for, but had in manner also lost the city of Sparta by a warlike stratagem, in the which he was deceived. For the Mantineans being newly

Messene restored again by Epaminondas

gesilaus repulsed Epaminondas from Lacedæmon

revolted again from the alliance of the Thebans, and having sent for the Lacedæmonians: Epaminondas receiving intelligence that Agesilaus was departed from Sparta with all his power to aid the Mantineans, marched away secretly by night from Tegea, without the privity of the Mantineans, and went straight to Sparta, the which he had almost surprised on the sudden (going another way than Agesilaus came), being in manner without men to defend it. Howbeit a Thespian called Euthynus, as Callisthenes sayeth, (or as Xenophon writeth, a Cretan,) brought Agesilaus news of it: who depatched a horseman straight to advertise them of the city of Sparta, and marching forward himself to return, stayed not long after before he arrived. He was no sooner come, but incontinently also came the Thebans, who passing over the river of Eurotas, gave assault to the city. Then Agesilaus perceiving that there was no more place nor time of security as before, but rather of desperation and courage: he valiantly defended it, more than an old man's years could bear. Thus, through courage and desperate mind, whereto he was never brought before, neither did ever use it, he put by the danger, and saved the city of Sparta from Epaminondas' hands, setting up marks of triumph for repulsing of the enemies, and making the women and children of Sparta to see the Lacedæmonians how honourably they rewarded their nurse and country for their good education: but Archidamus chiefly of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into every part of the city, with a few about him, to repulse the enemies wheresoever the danger was greatest. It is said also that at that time there was one Isidas the son of Phœbidas, that

did marvellous strange things to behold, both in the face of his enemies, as also in the sight of his friends. He was of goodly personage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being stark naked, and unarmed, his body nointed with oil, having in one hand a boarstaff, and in the other a sword, in this manner he went out of his house, and ran amongst them that fought, killing and overthrowing his enemies that withstood him, and was not once hurt, either for that the gods preserved him for his manhood's sake, or else because men thought him more than a man. The Ephori immediately gave him a crown, in honour and reward of his valiantness: but withal they set a fine on his head to pay a thousand silver drachmas for his rash attempt, to hazard himself in battell, unarmed for defence. Shortly after they fought another great battell before the city of Mantinea. There Epaminondas having overthrown the first ranks of the Lacedæmonians, and courageously distressing the rest, valiantly following the chase: there was one Anticrates a Laconian, who receiving him (as Dioscorides writeth) slew him with his boarspear. The Lacedæmonians to this day notwithstanding, do call the offspring of this Anticrates, Machæriones: as much to say, as swordmen, as though he had slain him with a sword. The Lacedæmonians did esteem this Anticrates so much, for that deadly stroke he gave (because they were afraid of Epaminondas while he lived) that they gave him that slew him, great honours and dignities, and discharged all his offspring and kindred from payment of subsidy and common contributions, which privilege one Callicrates, a kinsman of this Anticrates enjoyed even

The valiantness of Isidas a Spartan

Agesilaus greedy of wars

in our time. After this battell and death of Epaminondas, the Grecians having taken peace generally amongst them, Agesilaus would needs exclude the Messenians from being sworn to this peace, saying: that they need not sweare, because they had no city. Now, forasmuch as all the Grecians else did receive them as amongst the number, and took their oath unto this peace: the Lacedæmonians brake off from this general peace, and none but they only made war, in hope to recover the Messenians' country, and all through the allurement of Agesilaus, who for this cause was thought of the Grecians a cruel and unsatiable man of wars, to deal so craftily, and all to break this general league. Again, he brought himself in discredit with all men, being compelled to make his city bare of money, borrowing of them still, and raising sundry contributions amongst them: whereas indeed it had been his best way to have ended all those miseries, having so happy an occasion offered at that time, and not to have lost so great an empire of so many towns and cities, both by sea and land, and all to plague his country, to win the land and riches of the Messenians. But yet was this most shame unto him of all other, when he gave himself unto one Tachos, a captain of the Egyptians, every man thinking it a shameful part of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of all the Grecians, and the which had filled the world with report of his fame and glory) should for money let out his person to hire, and the glory of his name, unto a barbarous person, a traitor and rebel to his king and maister, to become a mercenary captain and soldier to do him service. And moreover, he being now four score

years of age and upwards, his body all mangled with wounds, though he had undertaken this honourable charge for the recovery of the liberty of the Grecians, yet had his ambition deserved some blame: for noble acts have their time, yea rather the good and ill do nothing differ from other, but in mean and mediocrity. But Agesilaus had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in service, specially for benefit of the common wealth, but persuaded himself that it was a dishonour to him to live idly in a city and do nothing, till death should come and make his summons: thereupon therefore he levied men of war through all Greece with the money Tachos sent unto him, and with them took sea, having thirty Spartans counsellors and assistants to him, as he had in his first journey. Now Agesilaus being arrived in Egypt, all the chief captains and governors of King Tachos came to the seashore, and honourably received him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of Egyptians of all sorts (that were marvellous desirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of Agesilaus) came thither from all parts to see what manner of man he was. But when they saw no stately train about him, but an old grey-beard laid on the grass by the seaside, a little man that looked simply of the matter, and but meanly apparelled in an ill-favoured threadbare gown: they fell a-laughing at him, remembering the merry tale, that a mountain should bring forth, and was delivered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered why they saw men bring him presents to welcome him, that he took meal, calves, and geese, and such gross things: and refused all

Agesilaus derided of the Egyptians

Agesilaus forsaketh Tachos

confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to give them to the Helots his slaves. Theophrastus writeth, that he delighted marvellously in the rush Papyrus, and liked the garlands they made of them, for their fineness and the handsomeness, the which he carried home with him when he departed thence. Having spoken at that time with Tachos, who was assembling his army to go on his journey: he was not made chieftain general, as he looked he should have been, but was appointed only colonel of all the strangers, Chabrias general of all the army by sea, and the chief of all the rest was Tachos himself in person. This at the first grieved Agesilaus to the heart, being driven whether he would or not, to bear with the vanity and pride of this Egyptian. So he sailed with him into Phœnice, against the Phœnicians, embasing himself against his noble disposition and mind, and gave him place, until he saw time of revenge. It chanced that one Nectanabis, a nephew of this Tachos, having the leading of part of this army, rebelled against him, and being chosen king by the Egyptians, he sent unto Agesilaus, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also unto Chabrias, and prayed him to join with him, promising great rewards unto them both. Tachos understanding that, besought them both that they would not forsake him. Chabrias for his part also did likewise entreat Agesilaus, and persuade him what he could, to continue friendship with Tachos. Agesilaus answered him, For thee, Chabrias, thou camest of thine own goodwill, and therefore mayest do what thou thinkest good: but so is it not with me.

For I am sent hither a captain by my country, to serve the Egyptians, and therefore it were no honesty for me to make war with them, whom I am sent to serve and aid: were it not that they themselves which sent me, do not command me the contrary. This answer being made, he sent certain of his men to Sparta to accuse Tachos, and to commend Nectanabis. Both they also for their parts sent to entreat the council of Lacedæmon: the one as being always their friend and confederate, and the other promising to be their faithful friend thenceforth. The Lacedæmonians having heard the requests of both, answered them openly, that Agesilaus should consider of his matter: and wrote secretly to him, that he should do what he thought best for the common wealth of Sparta. So Agesilaus taking with him the mercenary soldiers which he had brought out of Greece, went unto Nectanabis, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefit of his country, to bewray a wicked thing: but in deed taking away the vizard to benefit his country, they might by a better name rightly have termed it treason. Howbeit the Lacedæmonians placing the chiefest point of honour, to consist in the benefit of their country: did acknowledge nothing to be justice, but that which they thought might serve for the advancement of the glory of Sparta. Tachos seeing himself forsaken thus by his mercenary strangers, fled. But now on the other side, there rose another king in the city of Mendes, against this Nectanabis, who having levied to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, came to fight with Nectanabis. But he thinking to encourage Agesilaus, told him, that indeed they

and goeth unto Nectanabis

In whom stratagems take most effect

were a great number of men of all sorts together, and specially men of handy craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, because they knew not what war meant. But Agesilaus answered him again: It is not their number that I fear, but their rudeness and unskilfulness, which is hardest of all to deceive. For warlike stratagems do most prevail against men that have greatest fear and experience: and therefore they foresee one thing rather than another. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither fear danger, nor have forecast, and therefore do give him no more advantage that seeketh to deceive them, than the wrestler by sleight is able to overthrow him, whom he cannot stir nor remove. Afterwards the Mendesian king himself sent unto Agesilaus, to win him if he could. Nectanabis then began to be afraid. For when Agesilaus counselled him to try it by battell as soon as he could, and not to prolong this war against ignorant men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their over-multitude, might entrench him round about, and prevent him in diverse things: then he began to fear and suspect him more, and thereupon retired into a great city well walled about, and of great strength. Agesilaus being offended that he mistrusted him thus, took it inwardly: but being again ashamed to turn unto the third, and also to depart without any exploit done, he followed him, and enclosed himself within those walls. The enemies pursuing him hard, came unto the city, and began to entrench it round, to keep him in. Then the Egyptian Nectanabis fearing a long siege, determined to give them battell. Thereto the hired Grecians

gave consent, as desiring no better match, and the rather also for that there was but small store of corn within the city. But Agesilaus persuading the contrary, would in no wise consent to it: whereupon the Egyptians thought worse of him than before, and plainly called him traitor to their king. Howbeit he did patiently bear all their accusations, expecting time to perform an exploit he intended, which was this. The enemies had cast a deep trench without to compass them in. When this trench drew near to end, and that both ends lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night came on, he commanded the Grecians to arm, and to put themselves in readiness: then he came unto the Egyptian, and said unto him: Lo here is an excellent occasion presented to save thee, which I would not acquaint thee withal till I saw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing lest otherwise we should have lost it. Now sith the enemies themselves have with their own hands given us the way to save ourselves by this trench they have cast, the which as much as is finished thereof doeth hinder their great multitude to help themselves, and that which is yet left unfinished, doth give us opportunity to fight with them of even hand: determine to shew thy valour, and following us, save thyself and thy people. For the enemies which we shall assail before us, shall never be able to abide us: and the other by means of the trench which defendeth us on our side, can no way hurt us. Nectanabis hearing his words, wondered at his great wisdom, and so thrusting in among the Grecians, did assail the enemies: the which were soon overthrown and put to

The stratagem of Agesilaus

The liberality of Nectanabis

flight, as many as durst resist and make head against them. Agesilaus having won Nectanabis again to trust him, he once again deceived his enemies with the like subtilety wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knew not how to avoid. For one while he made as though he fled, and enticed them to follow him: sodainly again he would turn this way and that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight sluice, walled about of either side, with great broad ditches full of running water: so that when they were even in the middest of it, he suddenly stopped their passage with the front of his battell, which he cast to the breadth of the sluice, and thus made his number of fighting men equal with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compass him in behind, nor flank him on the sides. They having in this sort made some small resistance, in the end turned their backs and fled, and left a great number slain in the field: the residue after that last overthrow forsook their captains, and fled stragglingly here and there. Thus the affairs of this Egyptian king after that time had good success, and was quietly established in his kingdom, making much of Agesilaus: and doing him all honour possible, prayed him to tarry with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needs hasten home to his country, which was in war with others, knowing that his city of Sparta was without money, because they were driven to give pay unto strangers. Thereupon Nectanabis in the end took his leave of him very honourably, presenting him a gift (besides all other honours he did him) of two hundred and thirty silver talents in ready money, to defray the charges

of the war in his country. Howbeit the sea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, having notwithstanding recovered land with his ships in a desert place off the coast of Libya, which was called the haven of Menelaus, after he was fourscore and four year old: of the which he had reigned one and forty years king of Sparta, and thirty years thereof and more he was always taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner chieftain general of all Greece, until the battell of Leuctra. Now the Lacedæmonians having a custom to bury the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their country, in the same place where they departed: (the bodies of their kings excepted) the Spartans which were at that time about Agesilaus, anointed his body with wax for lack of honey, and carried him home to Sparta in this manner. His son Archidamus succeeded him in the kingdom, whose issue successively reigned continually after him, unto the time of Agis (who was the fifth king in succession after Agesilaus) whom indeed Leonidas put to death, because he sought to restore the Lacedæmonians' ancient discipline and form of life.

The death of Agesilau

THE END OF THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS.

THE LIFE OF POMPEY

The love of the Romans unto Pompey

THE Romans seem to have loved Pompey from his childhood, with the self affection that Prometheus in the tragedy of Æschylus appeareth to have borne unto Hercules, after that he was delivered by him: when he said,

> So great a hate I bear not to the father,
> But that I love the son of him much rather.

For the Romans never shewed more bitter hate against any other captain, than they did unto Strabo Pompey's father. Truly so long as he lived, they feared his greatness obtained by arms, for indeed he was a noble captain: but being stricken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they took him from the bier whereon his body lay as they carried him to burial, and did thereto great villany. Contrariwise, never any other Roman (but Pompey) had the peoples' earnest goodwills so soon, nor that in prosperity and adversity continued longer constant, than unto Pompey. One only cause procured the father's hate, and that was: an unsatiable and greedy desire of money. But Pompey his son, was for many occasions beloved. As, for temperance of life, aptness to arms, eloquence of tongue, faithfulness of word, and curtesy in conversation: so that there was never man that requested any-

thing with less ill will than he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gave without disdain, and took with great honour. Furthermore, being but a child, he had a certain grace in his look that wan men's goodwills before he spake: for his countenance was sweet, mixed with gravity, and being come to man's state, there appeared in his gesture and behaviour a grave and princely majesty. His hair also stood a little upright, and the cast and soft moving of his eyes, had a certain resemblance (as they said) of the statues and images of King Alexander. And because every man gave him that name, he did not refuse it himself: insomuch as there were some which sporting wise did openly call him Alexander. Whereupon Lucius Philippus a Consul, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in Pompey's favour, that it was no marvel if he being Philip, did love Alexander. It is reported also, that when Flora the curtesan waxed old, she much delighted to talk of the familiarity which she had with Pompey being a young man: telling that after she had lien with him, she could not possibly rise from him, but she must needs give him some sweet quip or pleasant taunt. She would tell also how one of Pompey's familiars and companions called Geminius, fell in love with her, and was a marvellous earnest suitor to obtain her goodwill: and that she answered him flatly, she would not, for the love she bare to Pompey. Geminius thereupon broke the matter to Pompey himself. Pompey desirous to pleasure him, granted the request: howbeit Geminius after that, would not come near Flora, nor speak unto

The favour of Pompey

The temperance of Pompey in diet

her, albeit it appeared that he yet loved her. But Flora took this not curtesan like, for she was sick a long time for very grief of mind, and the thought she took upon it. All this notwithstanding, it is said that this Flora had then such fame for her passing grace and beauty, that Cecilius Metellus setting forth and beautifying the temple of Castor and Pollux, with goodly tables and pictures: among the rest, he caused her picture to be lively drawn for her excellent beauty. Furthermore Pompey, against his nature, dealt very hardly and uncourteously with the wife of Demetrius, his franchised bondman (who while he lived was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth four thousand talents) fearing to be taken with her beauty which was very singularly fair, lest he should be thought in love with her. Now, though herein he seemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worst, yet could he not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his wives, he would let pass and wink at many things, that was against the profit of the common wealth. To prove his sober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common meats: a word (they say) he spake when he was very sick, and could taste no meat, is specially noted. For, to bring his stomach to him again, his physician willed him to eat a thrush. So seeking all about to get him one, there was no thrush to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not miss of them at Lucullus' house, for he kept them up all the year through. Why, what then, said he: if Lucullus'

riot were not, should not Pompey live? Therewithal, letting his physician's counsel alone, he made them dress such meat as was everywhere common. But of that we will speak more hereafter. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the field with his father, that was in arms against Cinna: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called Lucius Terentius, who being bribed with money, had promised Cinna to kill him, and other confederators also had promised to set their captain's tent on fire. This conspiracy was revealed unto Pompey as he sate at supper, which nothing amated him at all, but he drank freely, and was merrier with Terentius than of custom. So when it was bedtime, he stole out of his own tent, and went unto his father to provide for his safety. Terentius thinking the hour come to attempt his enterprise, rose with his sword in his hand, and went to Pompey's bed where he was wont to lie, and gave many a thrust into the mattress. After he had done that all the camp straight was in an uproar for the malice they bare unto their captain, and the soldiers in all haste would needs have gone and yielded to their enemy, beginning already to overthrow their tents, and to truss away bag and baggage. The captain for fear of this tumult, durst not come out of his tent: notwithstanding Pompey his son ran amongst the mutinous soldiers, and humbly besought them with the tears in his eyes, not to do their captain this villany, and in fine threw himself flatling to the ground overthwart the gate of the camp, bidding them march over him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The soldiers being ashamed of their folly, returned again to their

The treason o Lucius Terentiu against Pompey

Pompey accused for robbing the common treasure

lodging, and changing mind, reconciled themselves with their captain, eight hundred only excepted, which departed. But immediately after that Strabo, Pompey's father, was departed out of the world, Pompey being his heir, was accused for the father, to rob the common treasure. Howbeit he confessed and avowed, that it was Alexander one of his father's enfranchised bondmen that had stolen the most part of it, and brought him in before the judges. Notwithstanding, he was accused himself, for taking away the toils and arming cords of hunter's nets, and books that were taken at Asculum. He confessed the having of them, and that his father gave him them when the city was taken: howbeit that he had lost them since, when Cinna returned unto Rome with his soldiers, who breaking into his house by force, spoiled him of all that he had. His matter had many days of hearing before definite sentence, in which time Pompey shewed himself of good spirit and understanding, more than was looked for in one of his years: insomuch he wan such fame and favour by it, that Antistius being Prætor at that time, and judge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his daughter in marriage. Then that matter being by friends broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, and the parties were secretly assured. This was not so closely conveyed, but the people perceived it, by the care and pains Antistius took to favour his matter. Insomuch, when the judges gave judgement, and cleared him: all the people together, as if they had been agreed, cried out with one voice, Talassio, Talassio, being the usual and common cry they used of old time at

marriages in Rome. This custom by report of ancient folk came up in this manner. At what time the chiefest peers and lords of Rome did ravish the Sabines' daughters, which came to Rome to see common sports played: there chanced a few rascals (as hogherds or neatherds) to carry away a goodly fair woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cried out in the streets as they went, Talassio, as if they would have said, she is for Talassius. This Talassius was a young gentleman well known, and beloved of most men: so that such as heard him but named only, did clap their hands for joy, and cried out with them, Talassio, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custom, that ever since they have cried this word Talassio unto them that are newly married, because the marriage of that fair young maid proved fortunate and happy unto Talassius. And this methinks soundeth nearest to the troth of that they report of this wedding cry of Talassio. Shortly after this judgement given, Pompey married Antistia. After that, going unto Cinna's camp, they wrongfully accused him for somewhat, whereupon he being afraid, secretly stale away. Now when they could not find him in Cinna's camp, there ran straight a rumour abroad, that Cinna had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced Cinna, did set upon him for this occasion. But he thinking to save himself by flying, was straight overtaken by a private captain that followed him with his sword drawn in his hand. Cinna seeing him, fell down on his knees before him, and took his seal from his finger wherewith he sealed his

The cause of the cry Talassio

The death of Cinna

letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tush, said the captain, I come not to seal any covenant, but to chastise a villain and cruel tyrant: and therewithal thrust his sword through him, and slew him presently. Cinna being slain in this sort, Carbo succeeded him, and took the government in hand, being a more cruel tyrant than the first. Shortly after came in Sulla, being wished for, and desired of the most part of the Romans, for the grievous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought themselves happy to change governor: for their city was brought into such misery, as hoping no more to see Rome recover her lost liberty, they desired yet a more tolerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of Italy called Picenum (now the marches of Ancona) where he had certain inheritance, but much more, great love and goodwill of the cities for his father's sake. He seeing that the noblest men of Rome forsook their houses and goods, to fly from all parts unto Sulla's camp, as unto a place of safety: would not go to him as a fugitive and castaway to save himself, without bringing him some power to increase his army, but would honourably go thither with an army, as he that meant first to do himself pleasure. So he felt the goodwill of the Picentines, who willingly took his part, and rejected them that were sent by Carbo. Among them there was one Vindius, that stepping forth, said: that Pompey which came from school the last day, must now in haste be a captain. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight despatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time, Pompey being but three

and twenty years old, tarrying to receive no authority from any man, took it upon him of himself, and causing a tribunal to be set up in the middest of the market-place of Auximum, a great populous city: he commanded the two brethren called the Ventidians (being the chiefest men of the city, and they that for Carbo's sake withstood his doings) without delay forthwith to avoid the city, and so began to levy men, and to appoint captains, sergeants of bands, centeniers, and such other officers as appertain to martial discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that took part with Carbo, fled every man, and all the rest willingly yielded unto him: whereby in short space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertain them, carts, and all manner of beasts for carriage. In this sort he took his journey towards Sulla, not in haste, as a man afraid to be met with by the way, but by small journeys, staying still where he might hurt his enemy, causing the cities everywhere as he came to revolt from Carbo. Nevertheless, three captains of the contrary part, Carinna, Cælius, and Brutus, all three did set upon Pompey together, not all in a front, nor of one side, but in three several places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to have made him sure at the first onset. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting his force together in one place, he first marched against Brutus, having placed his horsemen (among the which he was himself in person) before the battell of his footmen. Now the men of arms of the enemy which were Gauls, coming to give charge upon him, he ran one of the chiefest among them

Pompey goeth unto Sulla

Pompey's victory of the Marians

through with his lance, and slew him. The other Gauls seeing him slain, turned their backs, and brake their own footmen: so that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the captains fell out among themselves, and some fled one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the towns round about, thinking that they were dispersed for fear: came all in to Pompey, and yielded themselves. Afterwards Scipio the Consul coming against Pompey to fight with him, when both battels were in manner ready to join: before they came to throwing of their darts, Scipio's soldiers saluted Pompey's men, and went on their side. So was Scipio driven to fly. And in fine, Carbo himself having sent after him divers troops of horsemen by the river of Arsis: Pompey made towards them, and did so fiercely assail them, that he drave them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to scape, yielded themselves, horse and armour, all to his mercy. Sulla all this while heard no news of these overthrows: wherefore, as soon as he understood of it, fearing lest Pompey should miscarry, being environed with so many captains of his enemies, he made haste to march towards him for to aid him. Pompey understanding of his approach, commanded his captains to arm their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their general might see them bravely appointed when he should present them unto him: for he looked that Sulla would do him great honour, and indeed he did him more honour, than Pompey looked for. For, when Sulla saw him afar off coming towards him, and his army marshalled

in so good order of battell, and such goodly men, that so bravely advanced themselves, being courageous for the victory they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted on foot. When Pompey also came to do his duty to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as emperor, or sovereign prince) Sulla re-saluted him with the self name, beyond all men's expectation present, little thinking that he would have given so honourable a name, unto so young a man as Pompey, who had not yet been senator: considering that he himself did contend for that title and dignity, with the faction of Marius and Scipio. Furthermore, the entertainment that Sulla gave him every way, was answerable to his first kindness offered him. For when Pompey came before him, he would rise and put off his cap to him, which he did not unto many other noblemen about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried nothing the more in himself. Wherefore when Sulla would straight have sent him into Gaul, because Metellus that was there, was thought to have done no exploit worthy of so great an army as he had with him: Pompey answered him again, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient captain that was of greater fame and experience than himself. Yet if Metellus of himself were contented, and would entreat him: that he would willingly go and help him to end this war. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entering Gaul did of himself wonderful exploits, and did so revive Metellus' old courage and valiantness to fight, which now began to faint, like boiling copper that being poured upon the cold and hard copper, doth

The honour Sulla did unto Pompey

Pompey put away his wife Antistia

melt and dissolve it, as fast or faster, than fire itself. For like as of a wrestler, who hath been counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, having ever borne the prize away where he hath wrestled, they never record among them his childish victories and wrestlings, as things of no account: even so I am afraid to speak of the wonderful deeds that Pompey did in his childhood, because they are obscured in respect of the infinite great wars and battels which he had won afterwards. For I am affraid that whilst I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly pass over his chiefest acts and most notable enterprises, which do best declare his natural disposition and singular wit. Now when Sulla had overcome all Italy, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did reward all his lieutenants and captains that had taken his part, and did advance them to honourable place and dignity in the common wealth, frankly granting them all that they requested of him. But for Pompey reverencing him for his valiantness, and thinking that he would be a great stay to him in all his wars: he sought by some means to ally him to him. Metella his wife being of his opinion, they both persuaded Pompey to put away his first wife Antistia, and to marry Æmilia the daughter of Metella, and of her first husband, the which also was another man's wife, and with child by her husband. These marriages were cruel and tyrannical, fitter for Sulla's time, rather than agreeable to Pompey's nature and condition: to see Æmilia, this new married wife taken from her lawful husband, to marry her great with child, and shamefully

to forsake Antistia, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husband that did put her away. For Antistius was murthered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take part with Sulla for his son-in-law Pompey's sake: and her mother voluntarily put herself to death, seeing her daughter received such open wrong. By these apparent causes, these unfortunate marriages fell out into a miserable tragedy, by means of the death of Æmilia, who shortly after miserably died with child in Pompey's house. Then came news to Sulla, that Perpenna was gotten into Sicily, and that he had made all that island at his devotion, as a safe place to receive all Sulla's enemies: that Carbo also kept the sea thereabouts with a certain number of ships: that Domitius also was gone into Africk: and divers other noblemen that were banished, that had scaped his proscriptions and outlawries, were all in those parts. Against them was Pompey sent with a great army. Howbeit he no sooner arrived in Sicily, but Perpenna left him the whole island, and went his way. There he favourably dealt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and misery, and set them again at liberty, the Mamertines only excepted, which dwelt in the city of Messina. They despising his tribunal and jurisdiction, alleged the ancient order and privilege of the Romans, set down in times past amongst them. But Pompey answered them in choler: What do ye prattle to us of your law, that have our swords by our sides? It seemeth also that Pompey dealt too cruelly with Carbo in his misery. For sith he must needs die, as there was no remedy but

Pompey sent fro Sulla in Sicily

The death of Carbo

he should: then it had been better they had killed him when he was taken. For then they would have imputed it to his malice, that so had commanded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him, that had been thrice Consul at Rome, to be openly examined, and he sitting in his chair of state or tribunal condemned him to die in presence of them all: to the great offence and misliking of every one that was present. So Pompey bade them take him away, and carry him to execution. When Carbo came to the scaffold where he should be executed, and seeing the sword drawn that should strike off his head: he prayed the executioners to give him a little respite and place to untruss a point, for he had a pain in his belly. Caius Oppius also (one of Julius Cæsar's friends) writeth, that he dealt very cruelly in like manner with Quintus Valerius. For Pompey, said he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and few like unto him: when he was brought unto him, he took him aside, and walked a few turns about: then when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commanded his guard to carry him away, and to despatch him. Howbeit we may not give too light credit to all that Oppius writeth, speaking of Julius Cæsar's friends or foes. For Pompey indeed was compelled to make away the greatest personages of Sulla's enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken: but for the rest, all those that he could secretly suffer to steal away, he was contented to wink at it, and would not understand it: and moreover did help some besides to save themselves. Now Pompey was determined to have

taken sharp revenge of the city of the Himerians, which had stoutly taken the enemies' part. But Sthenis, one of the governors of the city, craving audience of Pompey, told him he should do them wrong and injustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durst take upon him to father the offence of them all. Sthenis answered straight, that it was himself that had persuaded his friends, and compelled his enemies to do that which they did. Pompey being pleased to hear the frank speech and boldness of this man, first forgave him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other Himerians. Pompey understanding that his soldiers did kill divers men in the highways, he sealed up all their swords, and whose seal soever was broken, he was well favouredly punished. Pompey being busy about these matters in Sicily, received letters and commission from Sulla and the Senate, to depart thence immediately into Africk, to make war upon Domitius with all his power, who had levied already more men of war, than Marius had, not long before, when he came out of Africk into Italy: and had there overthrown all the Romans' doings, being become of a fugitive outlaw, a cruel tyrant. Pompey thereupon having speedily put himself in readiness to take the seas, left Memmius his sister's husband governor of Sicily: and so himself embarked, and hoised sail with six score galleys, and eight hundred other ships or bottoms, to transport their victuals, munition, money, engines of battery, and all other carriage whatsoever. After he was landed with all

Pompey's journey into Africk

Pompey's victory of Domitius

his fleet, part at Utica, and part at Carthage: there straight came to him seven thousand soldiers from the enemies, and yielded themselves, besides seven whole legions that he brought with him. They say moreover, that at his arrival, he had a pleasant chance happened unto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certain of his soldiers stumbled on a treasure by chance, and got thereby a great mass of money. The residue of the army hearing that, thought sure that the field where this treasure was found, was full of gold and silver, which the Carthaginians had hidden there long before in time of their calamity. Pompey hereupon, for many days after, could have no rule of his soldiers, neither could he choose but laugh, to see so many thousand men digging the ground, and turning up the field: until in the end they wearied themselves, and came and prayed him to lead them where he thought good, for they had paid well for their folly. Domitius came to Pompey with his army set in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certain quagmire before him that ran with a swift running stream, very ill to get over: besides that, from the very break of day it had poured down and rained so fast, and was so great a wind withal, that Domitius thinking all that day they should not fight, commanded his people to truss away, and remove. Pompey on the other side, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, suddenly made his men to march, and passed over the valley. The enemies perceiving that, being altogether out of order: were marvellously amazed, and in that hurly-burly would have made resistance. But they were neither all together, nor yet evenly set in

battell ray, and had besides the wind beating the rain full in their faces. So did the storm much hurt unto the Romans also, for they could not one see another: insomuch as Pompey himself was in great danger of being killed by one of his own soldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and was somewhat long before he answered him. In fine, when he had overthrown his enemies with great slaughter: (for they say, that of twenty thousand of them, there were but three thousand saved) Pompey's soldiers saluted him by the name of Imperator. But he answered them, that he would not accept the honour of that name, so long as he saw his enemies camp yet standing: and therefore, if it were so they thought him worthy of that name, that first they should overthrow the trench and fort of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their camp. The soldiers when they heard him say so, went presently to assault it. There Pompey fought bare-headed, to avoid the like danger he was in before. By this means they took the camp by force, and in it slew Domitius. After that overthrow, the cities in that country came and yielded themselves, some willingly, and others taken by force: as also they took King Iarbas, that had fought for Domitius, and his realm was given to Hiempsal. But Pompey, being desirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his army, went many days journey into the mainland, and still conquered all where he came, making the power of the Romans dreadful unto all the barbarous people of that country, the which made but small account of them at that time. He said moreover, that the wild

Domitius slain

The love of the soldiers unto Pompey

beasts of Africk also should feel the force and good success of the Romans: and thereupon he bestowed a few days in hunting of lions and elephants. For it is reported, that in forty days' space at the uttermost, he had overcome his enemies, subdued Africk, and had established the affairs of the kings and kingdoms of all that country, being then but four and twenty year old. So when he returned unto the city of Utica, letters were brought from Sulla, willing him to discharge all his army, and to remain there with one legion only, tarrying the coming of another captain that should be sent to succeed him in the government of that country. This commandment, grieved him not a little, though he made no shew of it at all: but his soldiers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when Pompey prayed them to depart, they began to give out broad speeches against Sulla, and told directly that they were not determined (whatsoever became of them) to forsake him, and they would not that he should trust unto a tyrant. Pompey seeing that he could not persuade them, by any reason to be quiet, rose out of his chair, and retired into his tent weeping. But the soldiers followed him, and brought him again to his chair of state, where he spent a great part of the day, they entreating him to remain there and command them, and he desiring them to obey Sulla, and leave their mutinies. But in fine, seeing them importunate to press him to it, he sware he would kill himself, rather than they should compel him: yet they scant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported unto Sulla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Sulla when he heard that, said to

his friends: Well, then I see it is my destiny, in mine old days to fight with children. He meant so, because of Marius the younger, who had done him much mischief, and had besides put him in great danger. But afterwards understanding the truth, and hearing that all generally in Rome were determined to go and meet Pompey, and to receive him with all the honour they could: because he would go beyond them all in shew of goodwill, he went out of his house to meet him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to say Great, and commanded all them that were present to give him that name also. This notwithstanding, some say, that it was in Africk this name was first given him by a common cry of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sulla. Indeed it is true that Pompey himself being sent Pro-consul into Spain, long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his letters and commissions with the name of Pompey the Great: for this name then was so commonly known and accepted, as no man did envy it. And therefore rightly is the wisdom of the ancient Romans, to be both commended and had in admiration: which did not only reward service in the field with such honourable names and titles, but civil service and good government also in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at Rome called Maximi, to say, very great: of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwixt the people and Senate. The other was Fabius Rullus, for that he put from the Senate certain bondmen enfranchised, who

Pompey called Magnus by Sulla

Pompey not being senator,

through their riches and favour had obtained that place. After that, Pompey required the honour of triumph, but Sulla denied it, alleging that none could enter in triumph into Rome, but Consuls or Prætors. For sith Scipio the First who in Spain had overcome the Carthaginians, never desired this honour of triumph, being neither Consul nor Prætor: much less should he stand upon demand of triumph into Rome, when that through his young years he was not yet a senator: and besides, it would purchase him envy of his honour and greatness. These reasons did Sulla allege against Pompey, and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly again, how men did honour the rising, not the setting of the sun: meaning thereby, how his own honour increased, and Sulla's diminished. Sulla heard him not very perfectly what he said, but perceiving by their countenances that stood by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he said. When it was told him, he marvelled at the boldness of so young a man, and then cried out twice together, Let him then triumph a gods' name. Many being offended therewith, Pompey (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needs be brought in in triumphant chariot drawn with four elephants: for he had taken many of them from those kings and princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gate of the city being too narrow, he was driven to leave the elephants, and was contented to be drawn in with horses. Now his soldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumph: he said he

passed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumph, than once to yield to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called Servilius, who at the first was one of the chiefest against Pompey's triumph, who said openly: Now I know that Pompey indeed is great, and deserveth triumph: being evident enough, that if he would, he might then have easily been made senator: he sued not for that, but as they say, sought honour by a stranger mean less honourable. For if he had been made senator, so young, it had not been so great a matter: but to have such honour before he was senator, that was marvellously to be noted. But this wan him the more favour and goodwill still amongst the common people: for they were glad when after his triumph they saw him in company amongst the Roman knights. On the other side it spited Sulla to see him come so fast forward, and to rise to so great credit: notwithstanding, being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keep it to himself, until that Pompey by force and against Sulla's will, had brought Lepidus to be Consul, by the help and goodwill of the people that furthered his desire. Thereupon Sulla seeing Pompey returning overthwart the market-place from the election, with a great train of followers to honour him, he said unto him: O young man, I see thou art glad of this victory, and so hast thou cause, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such favour of the people, as for thy sake to have made Lepidus Consul (the vilest person of all men) before Catulus the honestest man of the city. But I will tell thee one thing, see that thou

triumpheth against the law

Lepidus moveth civil war

sleep not, and look well to thy business, for thou hast advanced a dangerous enemy to thyself. Now the chiefest thing wherein Sulla discovered most his ill-will unto Pompey, was in his last will and testament: for he gave legacies unto every one of his friends, and some of them he made tutors and overseers of his son, but he made no mention of Pompey at all. This notwithstanding, Pompey took it well enough. And where Lepidus and some other would have kept Sulla's body from burial in the field of Mars, and that his funerals should not be openly solemnised: he contrariwise brought him very honourably and safely to the ground. Shortly after Sulla's death, his words of prophecy unto Pompey concerning Lepidus, proved true. For Lepidus usurping the authority which Sulla had before, not colourably, but openly entered straight in arms, stirring up again those of Marius' faction, whom Sulla could not be revenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise again. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Consul Catulus (whom the best and soundest part of the people followed) was thought a marvellous honest man, both just and modest: howbeit, a better governor in peace, than a good man of war, insomuch as time required Pompey's skill and experience. So Pompey stood not doubtful which way he would dispose himself, but took part straight with the nobility and honestest men, and was presently chosen captain of their army against Lepidus: who had already won the greatest part of Italy, and with an army under the conduct of Brutus, kept Gaul on this side the mountains called Gallia Cisalpina. And

for the rest Pompey easily overcame it: howbeit he lay a long time before Modena, besieging of Brutus. In the mean season Lepidus came to Rome, and being hard at the walls demanding the second Consulship, made them afraid in the city with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all sorts. Howbeit this fear was cooled straight, by a letter which Pompey sent to Rome, advertising how he had ended this war without any bloodshed: for Brutus, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yielded himself unto Pompey, who gave him a certain number of horsemen that conducted him unto a little town upon the river of Po: where the next day after, Geminius being sent by Pompey, slew him. But hereof Pompey was greatly blamed, for that he had written letters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how Brutus had put himself into his hands: and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting of him to death. This Brutus was father of that Brutus, which afterwards by the help of Cassius slew Julius Cæsar: howbeit he shewed not himself so like a coward, neither in wars nor in his death, as his father did. As we have declared more at large in his life. Furthermore Lepidus, being driven to forsake Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died (as is reported) of a sickness that he had, not for any sorrow or grief of his own affairs, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his heart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time Sertorius in Spain, who was another manner of warrior than Lepidus, and that kept the Romans in great awe: for that all the fugitives of

Brutus the father slain by Pompey

The valiantness of Sertorius in Spain

the late civil wars were fled to him as from the last disease of the wars. He had already overthrown many inferior captains, and was now wrestling with Metellus Pius, that in his youth had been a noble soldier, but now being old, made wars but slowly, and would not courageously take present occasions offered him, which Sertorius by his nimbleness and dexterity took out of his hands. For he would ever hover about him, when he thought least of him, like a captain rather of thieves than of soldiers, and would still lay ambushes in every corner, and round about him: where the good old man Metellus had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heavy armed. Hereupon Pompey keeping his army always together, practised at Rome, that he might be sent into Spain to aid Metellus. But Catulus, notwithstanding that he commanded him to disperse his army, Pompey still kept them together by colour of new devices, and was continually about Rome in arms, until that by Lucius Philippus' means he had obtained the government of that country. They say that one of the senators marvelling to hear Philip propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: How now Philip, dost thou then think it meet to send Pompey Pro-consul (to say, for a Consul) into Spain? No truly, said Philip, not Pro-consul only, but Pro-consulibus: (to say, for both Consuls) meaning, that both the Consuls for that year were men of no value. Now when Pompey was arrived in Spain, men began straight to be carried away, (as the manner is commonly where new governors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon Sertorius gave out proud and bitter words against Pompey, saying in mockery,

he would have no other weapon but rods to whip this young boy, if he were not afraid of this old woman: meaning Metellus the old man. But notwithstanding these gallant brags, he stood better upon his guard, and went stronger to fight than he did before, being afraid of Pompey. For Metellus was very dissolute of life (which no man would have judged in him) and was given over too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a marvellous sudden change both of his honour and glory which he used before, as also the cutting off of his superfluous expense. That thing, besides that he did honour Pompey greatly by it, wan him also much more the goodwill of the people, when they saw that he drew himself down to a straiter life. And this was no great pain to him, for of his own disposition he was a grave man, and temperately given for his desires. In this war fortune changed diversely, as it is commonly seen in wars: but nothing grieved Pompey more than Sertorius winning of the city of Lauron. For he thinking to have shut him in, and had given out some glorious words of the matter: wondered when he saw himself strait compassed in, that he could not stir out of the camp where he lay, and was driven besides to see the city burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afterwards at a set battell by the city of Valentia, he slew Herennius and Perpenna, both notable soldiers and Sertorius' lieutenants, and with them ten thousand men. This victory so encouraged Pompey, that he made haste to fight with Sertorius alone, because Metellus should have no part of the honour of the victory. So they both met by the river of Sucron, about sunset, both fearing Metellus'

Pompey's journey into Spain

Battell betwixt Pompey and Sertorius

coming: the one that he might fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doubtful in the end of the battell: for either of their wings had the upper hand. Between the two captains, Sertorius had the greater honour: for he alone overcame all them that stood before him. And as for Pompey, there was a great man of arms that being on foot, came and set upon him, and having both their swords in their hands, they both lighted upon their hands, but not both in one sort: for Pompey's hand was but a little hurt, and the man of arms had his hand clean cut off. Then Pompey's men fell upon him, all his own fellows on that side being fled from him: notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he saved himself after a strange sort, by casting up his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harness, having a caparison of great value: and in the meantime, while they were busy dividing this booty among them, and fighting for it: he escaped their hands. The next morning by break of day, both of them again brought their bands into the field, to confirm the victory, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But Metellus came to Pompey at that present time, whereupon Sertorius went his way, and dispersed his army: for his camp was easily broken, and sodainly gathered again together. For Sertorius would sometime wander the fields alone, and at another time again he would have a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men together in the field, like a vehement stream that sometime is dried up, and that sodainly again is all of a flood. Pompey after this battell going to welcome Metellus, when they came near one another, he commanded his

sergeants and officers to put down their bundel of rods and axes which they carried before him to honour Metellus withal, who was a better man than himself. But Metellus would not suffer them, but shewed himself equal with him in that, and in all things else, not respecting his seniority, nor that he had been Cousul, and Pompey not, saving when they camped together, Metellus gave the watch-word to all the camp. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped asunder, for their enemy that was so flitting from place to place, and was seen in so sundry places in so short time, compelled them to be asunder to foresee the worst, drawing them sodainly from one purpose to another: so that in fine, cutting them off from victuals every way, spoiling their country, and keeping the seaside, he drave them both out of the provinces of their charge which they had in Spain, and did compel them to go some other where, for lack of victuals. Pompey in the meantime having spent the most part of his goods in this war, sent to Rome for money to pay his soldiers, threatening the Senate, that if they sent him no money, he would return with his army into Italy. Lucullus then being Consul, though Pompey's enemy, procured they should send him money: for he practised to be sent captain against King Mithridates, and therefore was afraid to give Pompey any occasion to return, who desired nothing more than to leave Sertorius, to bend his force against Mithridates, whose overthrow should be more honourable to him, and also less dangerous. In the mean space, Sertorius died, being betrayed by those whom he thought his friends, among the which Perpenna was the chief man, that after Ser-

The modesty of Pompey and Metellus

Pompey overcame Perpenna and slew him

torius' death would needs counterfeit his doings, having the same means, the same furniture, and the same power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit and skill to employ them. Pompey therefore marching directly towards him, and finding how ignorant Perpenna was in his affairs: he laid a bait for him of ten cohorts which he sent to prey in the fields, commanding them to disperse themselves abroad as far as they could, one from another. Perpenna straight took the occasion, and gave them charge, and had them in chase. But Pompey tarrying him at the ford, was ready for him with all his army set in order: he gave him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all this war, because the most of the captains were slain in the field, and Perpenna the chief of all taken prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein Pompey was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor oblivion (as some do burthen him) of Perpenna's friendship shewed him in Sicilia, but rather deserved praise to have determined so wisely for the benefit of the common wealth. For Perpenna having in his custody all Sertorius' writings, he shewed letters of the greatest noblemen of Rome, (which were desirous of change of government) willing him to return into Italy. Pompey upon sight of these letters, fearing lest they would breed greater sedition and stir in Rome, than that which was already pacified: put Perpenna to death as soon as he could, and burnt all his papers and writings, not reading any letter of them. Then Pompey remaining in Spain a certain time, till he had pacified all commotions and tumults marvellously out of order: he brought his army back again into Italy, and

arrived there when the war of the bondmen and fencers led by Spartacus, was in greatest fury. Upon his coming therefore, Crassus being sent captain against these bondmen, made haste to give them battell, which he wan, and slew twelve thousand three hundred of these fugitive slaves. Notwithstanding, fortune meaning to give Pompey some part of this honour, five thousand of these bondmen escaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon he having overcome them, wrote unto the Senate that Crassus had overcome the fencers in battell, and that he had pluckt up this war by the roots. The Romans receiving Pompey's letters, were very glad of this news for the love they bare him. But as for the winning of Spain again, and the overthrow of Sertorius, there was no man, although it were in sport, that ever gave any man else the honour, but unto Pompey only. For all this great honour and love they bare unto Pompey, yet they did suspect him, and were afraid of him, because he did not disperse his army, that he would follow Sulla's steps, to rule alone by plain force. Hereupon as many went to meet him for fear, as there were that went for goodwill they bare him. But after he had put this suspicion quite out of their heads, telling them that he would discharge his army after he had triumphed: then his illwillers could blame him for nothing else, but that he was more inclined unto the people than to the nobility, and that he had a desire to restore the Tribuneship of the people which Sulla had put down, only to gratify the common people in all he could: the which indeed was true. For the common people at Rome never longed for thing more, than they

Pompey overcame the rest of the bondmen

Pompey and Crassus' first consulship

did to see the office of the Tribune set up again. Yea, Pompey himself thought it the happiest turn that ever came to him, to light in such a time, to do such an act. For, had any other man prevented him of that, he could never have found the like occasion possibly to have requited the people's goodwills unto him, so much as in that. Now therefore this second triumph and first Consulship being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothing the greater, nor better man. And yet was it a shew and signification of his greatness, the which Crassus (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time dealt in matters of state, and made more estimation of himself than of Pompey and all the rest) never durst once demand: before he had craved Pompey's goodwill. Pompey was very glad of his request, and had sought occasion of long time to pleasure him: and thereupon made earnest suit unto the people for him, assuring them he would as much thank them for making Crassus his colleague and fellow Consul, as he would, for making himself Consul. All this notwithstanding, when they were created Consuls, they were in all things contrary one to another, and never agreed in any one thing while they were Consuls together. Crassus had more authority with the Senate, but Pompey had more credit with the people. For he restored them the office of the Tribune, and passed by edict, that the knights of Rome should have full power again to judge causes civil and criminal. It was a pleasant sight also unto the people, when he came unto the Censors in person, to pray that he might be dispensed with for going to the wars. For it

was an ancient custom in Rome, that the knights of Rome having served a certain time in the wars appointed by their order, should bring their horse in the middest of the market-place before the two Censors, declaring every captain under whom they had served, in what journeys and countries they had been, and having also delivered account of their good behaviour and service, they then prayed to be dismissed from the wars. Now if it appeared that they had done good service, there were they honourably rewarded: or otherwise openly shamed and punished. At that time, Gellius and Lentulus the two Censors, being honourably set in their tribunal or judgement-seat, taking view of all the Roman knights that mustered before them, to be seen and examined, they marvelled when they saw Pompey coming at the farther end of the market-place, having all the marks of a Consul borne before him, and himself leading his horse in his hand by the bridle. When Pompey came nearer, and that they saw it was he, he commanded his sergeants that carried the axes before him, to make room for him to pass by the bars with his horse, where the Censors sat. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and rejoicing, being very silent. The Censors themselves also were marvellous glad to see him so obedient to the law, and did him great reverence. In fine the elder of the Censors did examine him in this sort. Pompey the Great, I pray thee tell me if thou hast served so long time in the wars, as the law doth appoint? Then answered Pompey aloud: Yes verily that I have, and under no other captain than myself. The people hearing this answer, made an open shout for joy,

The custom of the knights of Rome

Pompey's pride and glory

they were so glad to hear it: and the Censors themselves came from their judgement-seat, and went to accompany Pompey home to his house, to please the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their hands, with great signs of joy. At the end of their Consulship, when misliking increased further between Pompey and Crassus, there was one Gaius Aurelius, of the order of knighthood, who till that time never spake in open assembly, but then got up into the pulpit for orations, and told the people openly: how Jupiter had appeared to him in the night and had commanded him to tell both the Consuls from him, that they should not leave their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all these words Pompey stirred not. But Crassus first took him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the people. My lords, I think not myself dishonoured to give place to Pompey, sith you yourselves have thought him worthy to be called the Great, before he had any hair on his face, and unto whom you granted the honour of two triumphs before he came to be senator. When he had said his mind, they were made friends together, and so surrendered up their office. Now for Crassus, he held on his former manner of life which he had begun. Pompey as near as he could gave over to plead men's causes any more, and began little and little to withdraw himself from frequenting the market-place, and matters of judgement, coming seldom abroad, and when he did he had always a great train following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his house, or talk with any man, but he was ever accompanied with a great number, and

he rejoiced to himself, to see that he had always such a train after him: for that made him to be honoured the more, and gave him greater countenance to see him thus courted, thinking it dishonour to him to be familiar with mean persons. For men that rise by arms, are easily despised, when they come to live like private citizens: because they cannot fashion themselves to be companions with the common people, (who citizen-like use a common familiarity together) but look to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea and contrarily, they that do acknowledge themselves to be their inferiors in wars: will think foul scorn if they be not their superiors in peace. And by this means when they have a noble warrior among them that followeth public causes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battells he hath obtained) they obscure his glory, and make him an underling unto them: whereas they do not otherwise envy any soldiers, that are contented equally to give them place and authority, as plainly appeared shortly after, by Pompey himself. By such an occasion, the power of pirates on the sea, took beginning in the country of Cilicia, which was not reckoned of at the first, because it was not perceived, until they grew bold and venturous in King Mithridates' wars, being hired to do him service. And afterwards the Romans being troubled with civil wars, one fighting with another even at Rome gates, the sea not being looked to all this while: it set them agog, and made them go farther than ever they did before. For they did not only rob and spoil all merchant venturers by sea, but rifled also all the islands and towns upon the sea coast: insomuch as then there

The beginning of the pirates' war

The power and insolency of the pirates

joined with them, men of great wealth and nobility, and of great wisdom also, and entered into their fellowship, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set up arsenals or storehouses in sundry places, they had sundry havens and beacons on the land, to give warning by fire all alongst the sea coast, and those well kept and watched: moreover, they had great fleets of ships ready furnished with excellent good galliots of oars, skilful pilots and mariners, their ships of swift sail, and pinnaces for discovery, but withal so gloriously set out, that men less hated their excess, than feared their force. For the poops of their galliots were all gilt, the coverings of the same all of purple silk, delighting only to make a glorious shew of their pillage. All the sea coast over, there was no sight of any thing but music, singing, banqueting, and rioting, prizes of captains, and men of great quality, and ransoms of a thousand prisoners: and all this was to the shame and dishonour of the Romans. Their ships were about a thousand in number, and they had taken above four hundred towns. They had spoiled and destroyed many holy temples that had never been touched before. As the temple of the twins in the Isle of Claros, the temple of Samothracia, the temple of Earth in the city of Hermioné, and the temple of Æsculapius in Epidaurus: the temples of Neptune in Isthmos, Tænarus, and Calabria: and the temples of Apollo in Actium, in the Isle of Leucas: the temples of Juno in Samos, in Argos, and in Lucania. They had also many strange sacrifices and certain ceremonies of religion amongst themselves, in the mount Olympus, and among other, the mystery of Mithras, which is the sun: and remaineth yet in

being unto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent parts and injuries they did the Romans upon the sea, they went a-land, and where they found any houses of pleasure upon the sea coast, they spoiled and destroyed them: and on a time they took two Roman Prætors, Sextilius and Bellinus, being in their purple robes, with their sergeants and officers attending on them, and carried them quite away. Another time also they stole away the daughter of Antonius (a man that had received honour of triumph) as she went a-walking abroad in the fields, and she was redeemed for a great sum of money. But yet the greatest spite and mockery they used to the Romans, was this. That when they had taken any of them, and that he cried he was a citizen of Rome, and named his name: then they made as though they had been amazed, and afraid of that they had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighs, and fell down on their knees before him, praying him to forgive them. The poor prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled themselves as though they seemed fearful. For some of them came unto him, and put shoes on his feet: others clapped a gown on the back of him after the Roman fashion, for fear (said they) lest he should be mistaken another time. When they had played all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their ship ladders, and put him on it, and bade him go his way, he should have no hurt: and if he would not go of himself, then they cast him over the board by force, and sent him packing. These rovers and sea pirates had all the sea Mediterraneum at commandment: insomuch

The pirates' scorn of the Romans

Pompey's authority against the pirates

there durst not a merchant look out, nor once traffic that sea. And this was the only cause that moved the Romans (fearing scarcity of victuals, and a great dearth) to send Pompey to recover the signiory again of the sea from these pirates. The first man that moved it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be only admiral, or general by sea, but should have absolute power to command all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge: was Gabinius, Pompey's friend. The sum of this decree gave him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from Hercules' Pillars, and of the mainland, the space of four hundred furlongs from the sea. (For the Romans' dominions at that time in few places went farther than that: notwithstanding, within that compass were many great nations and mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gave him power to choose of the Senate fifteen lieutenants, to give unto every one of them, several provinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the general receivers of the state, to defray the charges of a fleet of two hundred sail, with full power besides to levy what men of war he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he listed. This law when it had been read once over among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noblemen and chief of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceed all envy, but also that it gave them apparent cause of fear, to give such absolute power unto a private person. Whereupon, they were all against it but Cæsar, who favoured the decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey, as the people, whose favour he

sought. The noblemen fell marvellously out with Pompey: and at the length one of the Consuls was very hot with him, and told him he looked to follow Romulus' steps, but peradventure he would come short of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to have killed him. And after, Catulus stood up to speak against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of envy, to speak many goodly things in the praise of Pompey, and in fine, advised the people to spare him, and not to venture in such dangerous wars (one after another) a man of so great account, as they ought to make of him. If ye chance to lose him, said he: whom have you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: Yourself. Then perceiving that he lost his labour, seeking to turn the people from their determination: he left it there, and said no more. Roscius rose next after him to speak, but he could have no audience. When he saw that he could not be heard, he made a sign with his fingers, that they should not give Pompey alone this authority, but join another with him. The people being offended withal made such an outcry upon it, that a crow flying over the market-place at that instant, was stricken blind and fell down amongst the people. Whereby it appeareth that fowl falling out of the air to the ground, do not fall for that the air is broken or pierced with any force or fury: but because the very breath of the voice (when it cometh with such a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the air) doth strike and overcome them. Thus for that day, the assembly brake up, and nothing passed: and at the day appointed when this decree should

At the voice of the people, a crow flying fell down

Pompey's preparation

pass by voices of the people, Pompey went abroad into the country. There being advertised that the decree was passed for the confirmation of his charge, he returned again that night into the city, because he would avoid the envy they would have borne him to have seen them run out of all parts of the city unto him, to have waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed to the gods: and audience being given him at an open assembly, he handled the matter so, that they gave him many things besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set down and appointed at the first decree. For he ordained that the common wealth should arm him five hundred ships, and they levied for him six score thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and chose besides four and twenty senators, which had every one of them been generals of armies, and two general treasurers also. While things were thus a preparing, the price of victuals fell by chance: which rejoiced the people so much, that they stuck not to say, that the name of Pompey only had already ended this war. This notwithstanding, he divided all the sea between the lands into thirteen regions, and in every of them he appointed a certain number of his ships, and moreover, one of his lieutenants over them. Thus having dispersed his power all abroad, he brought all the pirates' ships that were in a fleet together, within his danger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a dock. Now for them that had dispersed themselves betimes, or that otherwise could scape his general chase: they fled all into Cilicia, as bees into the beehive, against whom he would needs go him-

self in person with three score of his best ships. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scoured all the Tuscan sea, the coasts of Libya, Sardinia, Sicily, and of Corsica, of all these thieves which are wont to keep thereabouts: and this he did within forty days' space, taking infinite pains, both himself and his lieutenants. Now when one of the Consuls called Piso did all the best he could to hinder Pompey's preparation, and had discharged his ower-men, for that he envied Pompey's prosperity: Pompey sent his ships before to make towards Italy to arrive at the city of Brundusium. He in the meantime, went through Tuscany to Rome, where, so soon as his coming was known, all the people ran out to meet him, as if he had been absent a long time: and that which made the people more joyful to see him, was the sodain change of victuals unlooked for, that daily came to the town out of all parts. But Piso went near to be deprived of his Consulship: for Gabinius had the decree written, and ready to present to the people. But Pompey would not suffer it. So, having gently brought all to pass as he desired, he went unto the city of Brundusium, and there took sea, and hoised sail. Now though his hasty voyage, and shortness of time made him pass by many good cities without coming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so pass by the city of Athens, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the gods, returned to embark again. At his going out of the city, he read two writings that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which said thus:

against the pirates

The humblier that thou dost thyself as man behave,
The more thou dost deserve the name of God to have.

The victory of Pompey upon the pirates

And the other writing was without the gate, which said:

We wisht for thee, we wait for thee,
We worship thee, we wait on thee.

Now because Pompey having taken certain of these rovers by sea that kept together, did use them gently when they required pardon, and having their ships and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled from his other captains and lieutenants, and went and yielded themselves, their wives and children into his hands. Pompey pardoned all them that came in of themselves, and by that means he came to have knowledge of the rest, and to follow them where they went, whom he took in the end: but knowing that they deserved no pardon, they hid themselves. Yet the most part and the richest of them, had conveyed their wives, children and goods, and all other their family unmeet for wars, into strong castles and little towns upon Mount Taurus: and such men as were able to carry weapon, embarked, and lay before a city of Coracesium, where they tarried Pompey, and gave him battell, first by sea, and there were overcome, and afterwards they were besieged by land. Howbeit shortly after, they prayed they might be received to mercy, and thereupon yielded their bodies, towns, and islands which they had fortified, and were hard to have taken and worse to have approached. Thus was this war ended, and all the pirates in less than three months driven from the sea wheresoever they were. He wan also a great number of other ships,

besides four score and ten galleys armed with copper spurs. And touching the men whom they had taken (who were in number about twenty thousand persons) he did not only consider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise part on the other side to let them go at liberty, to gather force again, being so great a number of them as indeed they were, and all poor men and soldiers. Therefore, weighing with himself that man by nature is not born a wild or savage beast, but contrarily becometh a brute beast changing nature, when he falleth to vice: and again is made tame and civil in time, changing place and manner of life: (as brute beasts that being wild by nature do also become gentle and tractable, with gentler usage by continuance): he determined to draw these pirates from the sea into the upland and to make them feel the true and innocent life, by dwelling in towns, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certain small towns of the Cilicians, that were scant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giving them land to keep them with. The city of the Solians also, that not long before had been destroyed by Tigranes the king of Armenia, being desirous to replenish that again, he placed many of them there. He bestowed divers also in the city of Dymæ in the country of Achaia, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great store of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproved him greatly: and for that he did in Creta, they that were his best and greatest friends misliked him. For Metellus that gentle person (a cousin to that Metellus which was his colleague, and made wars

How men are tamed

Pompey's lewd fact against Metellus

in Spain with him against Sertorius) was sent Prætor into Creta, before Pompey was chosen general against the pirates. This Creta, next unto Cilicia, was even a second den of pirates. Metellus finding there a great number of these thieves, took many of them and put them to death, even all that came to his hands. Then, such as had scaped from him, being straitly besieged, sent unto Pompey to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercy: declaring unto him, that the Isle of Creta was within the precinct of his charge, because all parts of that region from the sea came just within the compass limited him on the land. Pompey pardoning them upon their submission, wrote unto Metellus, and commanded him to leave off his war, and therewithal charged all the cities, that they should not obey Metellus' commandments. After that he sent Lucius Octavius, one of his lieutenants, who entered into the towns Metellus besieged, and fought for the pirates. This made Pompey not only hated and envied, but derided also: for that under his name he had protected such vile thieves, that had neither God nor law, and given them his authority to save their lives, for a little envy and emulation he bare unto Metellus. And therefore they rightly reprove Achilles and say that he shewed not the part of a wise man, but of a young fool besides himself, for desire of glory, making a sign to the Grecians, forbidding them to strike at Hector, to the end that as Homer said:

> Least he too late should to the battell run,
> When others had the honour of it won.

But Pompey's fact was worse than this. For he fought for the common enemies of the world, and only to deprive a Roman Prætor of triumph, who had done great good service to have destroyed them. This notwithstanding, Metellus left not off his war for Pompey's letters, but having taken the pirates by assault, he put them to death: and afterwards having done Octavius open shame through his camp, he let him go. When news came to Rome, that the pirates' war was brought to good end, and that Pompey having no other service in hand, went visiting the cities up and down: one Manilius a Tribune of the people, put forth another decree unto them of this effect. That Pompey taking all the army Lucullus had, and the provinces under his government, with all Bithynia, which Glabrio kept: should go make war upon the kings Tigranes and Mithridates, keeping in his hands notwithstanding all his jurisdiction and army by sea, in as royal manner as he had it before. In fine, this was even to make one man monarch and absolute prince of all the Roman empire. For by this second decree, he had all these countries not named in his former commission, added to amplify his authority, as Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, High Colchis and Armenia, with all the armies and forces with the which he had overcome those two mighty kings. Then the Senate stuck not so much at the injury that was offered unto Lucullus, depriving him of the honour of his doings, to give it to another, that should rather succeed him in honour of triumph, than in danger of wars, knowing that they did him too manifest injury, and shewed themselves too un-

Pompey appointed Lucullus' successor

Pompey's great dissimulation

thankful: but that which most grieved them, was to see Pompey's power established in a plain tyranny. Hereupon therefore, one of them persuaded and encouraged another, stoutly to withstand this edict, and not to suffer their liberty to be lost in this sort. Notwithstanding, when the day came that the decree should pass, they were so afraid to anger the people, that their hearts failed them, and none durst speak against it but Catulus only: that earnestly inveighed against the passing of it a long time together, and greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiving he had won never a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they should look to seek out some mountain or high rock to retire safely unto to defend their liberty, as their ancestors had done in old time before them. All this prevailed not, for the decree passed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his absence made lord almost of all that, which Sulla by force of arms and great effusion of blood (having made himself lord of Rome) had before in his power. When Pompey had received letters from Rome, advertising him what the people had passed in his behalf: some say that at the receipt of them (in the presence of his familiar friends that were about him, and rejoiced with him for congratulation) he knit his brows, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieved him marvellously to have such great offices and charge laid upon him, one in the neck of another, and burst forth in these words: O gods, shall I never see an end of such a world of troubles as I have? Had it not been better for me to have been a mean man born and

unknown, than thus continually to be in war with armour on my back? What, shall I never see the time, that breaking the necks of spite and envy against me, I may yet once in my life live quietly at home in my country with my wife and children? When Pompey spake those words, his familiar friends could not abide to see his deep dissimulation, knowing that besides his natural ambition and covetous desire to rule, he was glad in his heart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and Lucullus: which his deeds forthwith bewrayed. For he presently sent out precepts into every quarter, commanding all sorts of soldiers to come to him immediately, and made also all the princes and kings within precinct of his charge to come unto him, and going through the countries, altered and changed all that Lucullus had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enjoined them, and took from them also the gifts that Lucullus bestowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpose and desire: to make them that honoured Lucullus know, that he had no further power and authority to do anything. Lucullus finding himself hardly handled by Pompey, the friends of either side thought good they should meet and talk together: which came so to pass, for they met in the country of Galatia. And because they both were great captains of the Roman armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their sergeants and officers that carried the bundles of rods before them, wreathed about with laurel boughs. When they met, Lucullus came out of a close and woody country, all covered with green trees, and Pompey on

Quarrel betwixt Pompey and Lucullus

Pompey and Lucullus' the other side had passed through a great sandy plain, where no tree was growing. Thereupon Lucullus' sergeants seeing the laurel boughs dry and withered away, which Pompey's sergeants carried, they gave them of their green and fresh boughs to beautify the rods and axes. This was a plain token that Pompey came to take Lucullus' honour from him. In truth Lucullus had been Consul before Pompey, and so was he also older man than he: yet the dignity of Pompey was greater, because he had triumphed twice. At their first meeting, their entertainment and discourse was with great ceremony and courtesy as might be, one highly praising the other's deeds, rejoicing at each other's good success: but at parting, they fell to hot words together, Pompey upbraiding Lucullus' avarice, and Lucullus Pompey's ambition, so that their friends had much ado to part them. Lucullus departing thence, divided the lands in Galatia, which he had conquered, and bestowed them and other gifts, on such as he thought good. Pompey on the other side camping hard by him, specially commanded the people in every part to obey him in nothing whatsoever he did: and besides, he took all his soldiers from him, leaving him only sixteen hundred, which he supposed were such, as for disdain and ill-will they bare him, would do him but small service. Furthermore, to blemish the glory of his doings, he told everybody Lucullus had fought with the pomp and shadow only of these two kings, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, Mithridates being then prepared for wars, with shields, swords, and horses. Lucullus for revenge on the other side said, that

Pompey went to fight but with a shadow of war, like a cowardly buzzard that preyeth upon dead bodies, which others have slain: and to cut asunder the remain of this war ended by another, as he had done before, attributing the honour of the overthrow of Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus, to himself, where indeed Metellus, Crassus, and Catulus did overcome them. And therefore it was no marvel, that he sought the glory and honour to triumph for the kingdoms of Pontus and Armenia: sith that through his subtile practices he had obtained triumph for a few slaves and fugitives. Lucullus being now gone his way, Pompey sent good garrisons unto all the coasts upon the sea, from the province of Phœnicia, unto the realm of Bosphorus. That done, he took his journey by land towards Mithridates, who had in his camp thirty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen, and yet durst not offer battell, but camped first upon a mountain of great strength, and hard to get up on: notwithstanding shortly after, he forsook it for lack of water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith Pompey took it. Who, conjecturing by the nature of the plants and trees in that place which were very green, and also by divers holes he found, that by reason thereabouts should be some springs: he commanded them to dig wells in every corner, so that in a very short time all his camp had water enough, and he wondered at Mithridates, that he could not find that out in all the time he lay there. In the end, he went and camped round about Mithridates, and intrenched him with a wall within his own camp: who after he had abidden the siege five and forty days, fled away with all the choice

meeting in Galatia

Mithridates' dream

of his army, unknowing to Pompey, having first slain all the sick and impotent persons within his camp. After that, Pompey found him another time by the river of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that Mithridates would pass over the river before he could prevent him in time, he raised his camp again, and marched away at midnight. About that time, they say, that Mithridates saw that in a dream, which did prognosticate what should happen. He thought, that having the wind in the poop of the ship, he was under sail, in the middest of the sea of Mare Bosphorum, and that he was marvellous glad of it, and rejoiced with them that sailed with him, thinking himself certainly past all danger: yet sodainly again, that all this joy left him, and that he floated up and down the waves of the sea, upon a little piece of the ship that was broken, trusting to the mercy of the winds. As he was troubled with this ill-favoured dream, certain of his familiars came to him and told him, that Pompey was come so near, that there was no shift, but they must needs fight to defend their camp. Thereupon his captains straight began to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. Pompey understanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venter his men to fight in the dark, thinking it better to compass them in to keep them from flying, and then in the morning to set upon them more easily, his men being the better soldiers. But Pompey's old captains were so earnestly in hand with him to persuade him they might fight, that in the end he was contented they should give charge. Now it was not so dark but they could somewhat see, for

the moon that was very low and upon her setting, gave light enough to discern the body of a man: yet because the moon was very low, the shadow which gave out farther far than their bodies, came almost even to their very enemies, which did let them that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was between them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their darts at the Romans, but they hurt never a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The Romans perceiving that, ran upon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durst not abide their charge they were so afraid, but turned their backs, and ran away for life, so that they were slain downright. Thus were there ten thousand of the barbarous people slain and more, and their camp also taken. As for Mithridates himself, at the beginning of the onset, he made a lane among the Romans with eight hundred horsemen, and passed clean through them. But incontinently his men dispersed upon it, some one way, some another way, so that he was left alone but with three persons only, whereof Hypsicratea was one of the number, which had ever been valiant and had a man's heart: whereupon, for that cause Mithridates called her Hypsicrates. She at that time being arrayed like a man of arms of Persia, and mounted also on a horse after the Persian manner, was never weary with any long journey the king made, nor never left to wait upon his person, and to look to his horse: until such time as the king came to a strong castle called Inora, where was great store of gold and silver, and the king's chiefest treasure. Then Mithridates took off his richest apparel he

Pompey overthrew Mithridates

Tigranes yieldeth himself unto Pompey

had there, and gave it amongst them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poison besides to every one of his friends to carry about them, because they should not (unless they would themselves) fall into their enemies' hands alive. From thence he thought to take his journey into Armenia unto King Tigranes. Howbeit Tigranes sent to let him, and further proclaimed by trumpet, that he would give a hundred talents to him that could kill him. Thereupon, passing by the head of the river of Euphrates, he fled through the country of Colchis. In the meantime, Pompey invaded the country of Armenia, at the request of Tigranes the younger, who was revolted against his father, and went to meet with Pompey at the river of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both together marched on farther into the country, receiving such towns as yielded unto them. But King Tigranes (that not long before had been consumed and destroyed by Lucullus) understanding that Pompey was of a mild and gentle nature, he received his garrisons into his strongest forts and royal houses, and went himself with his friends and kinsmen to meet Pompey, and to yield himself unto him. When he came hard to his camp, being a-horseback, there came out two sergeants of Pompey's, and commanded him to light and go in afoot, for there was never man seen a-horseback within the Romans' camp. Tigranes did not only obey them, but further plucked off his sword and gave it them: and in fine, when he came almost to Pompey, taking off his royal hat from his head, he

would have laid it at Pompey's feet, and falling down most shamefully on the ground, imbased himself to embrace Pompey's knees. But Pompey himself prevented him, and taking him by the hand, made him to sit down by him on the one side of him, and his son on the other. Then he said unto them both: As for the other losses you have sustained heretofore, you must thank Lucullus for them, who hath taken from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophena: but for that you have left you till my coming, I will let you enjoy it, paying to the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you had done them, provided also, that your son have the kingdom of Sophena for his part. Tigranes accepted the conditions of peace. The Romans then saluted him king. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to give every soldier half a mina, every centener ten minas, and to every colonel of a thousand men a talent. His son was very angry withal: insomuch as Pompey sending for him to come to supper to him, he answered again, that was not the friendship he looked for at Pompey's hands, for he should find many other Romans that would offer him that courtesy. Pompey for his answer, clapped him up as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumph at Rome. Shortly after, Phraates king of Parthia sent ambassadors to Pompey to demand this young prince, that was his son-in-law, and to tell him that the river of Euphrates must be the uttermost confines of his conquests. Pompey answered again, that Tigranes had more right to his son, than the father-in-law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would do it with justice. So, leaving

Ambassadors sent from the King of Parthia unto Pompey

Pompey overthrew the Albanians

Afranius in Armenia to keep the country, Pompey passed by other nations which inhabit about Mount Caucasus, having Mithridates in chase: of which nations, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the Albanians and Iberians. The Iberians do stretch out unto Mount Moschium, and to the realm of Pontus. The Albanians lie towards the east, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered Pompey to pass through their country, upon his sending to them. But winter having stolen upon the Romans while they were there, and they busily occupied about Saturn's feasts: the barbarous people having levied about forty thousand fighting men in one camp together, came and passed over the river of Cyrnus. (This river cometh from the mountains of the Iberians, and receiving the river of Araxes into it, which passeth through Armenia, disperseth itself into twelve several mouths, and so falleth into Mare Caspium. Some notwithstanding hold opinion, that Cyrnus receiveth not the river of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by itself, and falleth into the same sea, near unto the mouths of the other.) Pompey might, if he had would, have kept them for coming over the river, yet did he suffer them quietly to pass over. When they were all over, he went against them, overcame them in battell, and slew a great number of them in the field. Afterwards he pardoned their king, submitting himself unto Pompey by his ambassadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went against the Iberians: who were no less in number, than the Albanians were at the first, and also better soldiers, and were resolutely bent to do good service unto Mithridates, and to drive out Pompey. These

Iberians were never subject to the empire of the Persians, nor of the Medes, and scaped also from being subject to the Macedonians, for that Alexander never stayed in the country of Hyrcania: whom also Pompey overcame in a great and bloody battell, having slain nine thousand in the field, and taken ten thousand prisoners. From thence he went into the country of Colchis. There Servilius met him by the river of Phasis, with the fleet of ships with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to follow Mithridates farther, who had hid himself amongst a people that were neighbours unto the straits of Bosphorus, and the marishes Mæotides, he found it a hard piece of work. Furthermore also, he had news that the Albanians were rebelled again, which drew him back to be revenged of them. Thereupon he passed again over the river of Cyrnus, with great pain and danger, because the barbarous people had made a strong defence a great way alongst the river side, with a marvellous number of great trees, felled and laid across one over another. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty passed through them, he fell into an evil favoured country, where he should travel a great way before he could come to any water. Thereupon he caused ten thousand goats' skins to be filled with water, and so went forward to meet with his enemies, whom he found by the river of Abas, being six score thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, but all (or the most of them) ill armed with wild beasts' skins. Their chieftain was Cosis, the king's own brother. He, when the battell was begun, flew upon Pompey, and threw a dart at him, and hurt him in the flank. Pompey

and the Iberians

The Amazons

on the other side, ran him through with his lance on both sides, and slew him stark dead. Some say also, that there were certain Amazons at this battell, which fought of the barbarous people's side, coming from the mountains that run alongst the river of Thermodon. For, after the overthrow given, the Romans spoiling the dead, found targets, and buskins of the Amazons, but not a body of a woman among them. They also do inhabit on the side of the mountain Caucasus, that looketh towards Mare Hyrcanium, and do not border upon the Albanians: but the Gelæ, and the Leleges are between them, with whom they company two months only every year meeting together, by the river of Thermodon, and all the rest of the year, they live apart by themselves. After this last battell, Pompey going to invade the country of Hyrcania, as far as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go back again for the infinite number of deadly venomous serpents which he met with, being come within three days' journey of it. So he returned back again to Armenia the less, and there received presents which were sent unto him from the kings of the Elymians and the Medes, and wrote very courteously unto them again: howbeit he sent Afranius with part of his army against the king of the Parthians, who had invaded the country of Gordiena, and harried and spoiled the king of Tigranes' subjects. Notwithstanding, he drave him out, and followed him unto Arbelitid. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of King Mithridates being brought unto Pompey, he would touch none of them, but sent them all home again, to their parents and friends, because the most of

them were either the daughters of princes, of noblemen, or of captains. Notwithstanding, Stratonicé that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most credit about Mithridates, unto whom he had left all the charge of his castell, where the greatest part of his treasure of gold and silver lay, was a singer's daughter, who as they said, was not rich, but an old man. She having sung one night before Mithridates, being at supper, he fell in such fancy with her, that he would needs have her lie with him the same night, and the old man her father went home offended, because the king would not so much as give him one gentle word. But the next morning when he rose, he marvelled to see the tables in his house full of plate of gold and silver, and a great company of serving-men, grooms of chamber and pages, and that they had brought him marvellous rich apparel, and a horse ready at the gates bravely furnished, as the king's familiars did use when they went abroad into the city: he thought it was done in mockery, to have made sport with him, and therefore would have run his way, had not the serving-men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich man's goods that died of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a little portion in respect of the other goods and lands he gave him. So the old man believing them, at the length did put on this purple gown they brought him, and got up on horseback, and riding through the streets, cried, All this is mine, all this is mine. Certain laughing him to scorn for it, he told them: Maisters, ye may not wonder to hear me thus cry out, but rather, that I throw not stones at them I meet, I am so mad for joy. Stratonice

Pompey's abstinence from taking of gifts

Such was Stratonicé's birth and parentage, as we have told you. She did then deliver this castell into Pompey's hands, and offered him many goodly rich presents: but he would take none of them, other than such as served to adorn the temples of the gods, and to beautify his triumph, and left all the rest with Stratonicé herself, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the Iberians, having sent him a bedstead, a table, and a chair of clean gold, praying him to take it as a remembrance from him: he delivered it over unto the treasurer's custody, to be accountable for it unto the state. In another castle called Cænon, he found certain secret letters sent from Mithridates, which pleased him marvellously to read, because thereby he plainly understood the king's nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poisoned (besides many other) Ariarathes his own son, and Alcæus the Sardinian, because he had won the bell, at the horse-race before him. There was also interpreting of dreams, that either himself or his wives had dreamed, and also love-letters betwixt Monimé and him. Theophanes writeth also, that there was found an oration of Rutilius, in the which he enticed and persuaded Mithridates to put all the Romans to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reason men think, that this was a shameful lie, maliciously devised by Theophanes, who hated Rutilius, because he was but a counterfeit to him: or peradventure to gratify Pompey, whose father Rutilius in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as ever lived. Thence Pompey departed towards the city of Amisus. There his ambition brought him to

commit such facts, as he himself did condemn before in Lucullus: for that his enemy being yet alive, he took upon him to establish laws, to give gifts, and distribute such honours, as captains that had obtained victory were wont to do, when they had ended all war and trouble. For he himself (Mithridates being yet the stronger in the realm of Bosphorus, and having a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reproved another for, appointing provinces, and giving out gifts to every man according as he deserved: to gratify twelve barbarous kings, with divers other princes, lords and captains, that came to him thither. Writing also to the King of Parthia, he disdained to give him that title, which others were wont to do in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderful great desire to win Syria, and to go through the country of Arabia, even unto the Red Sea, because he might enlarge his conquests and victories every way, even unto the great sea Oceanus, that compasseth all the whole earth. For in Libya, he was the first Roman that conquered all to the great sea. On the other side, in Spain he enlarged the empire of Rome, and brought the confines thereof unto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, having lately the Albanians in chase, he came almost unto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put himself in journey, intending his circuit unto the Red Sea, specially because he saw Mithridates so ill to follow, and worse to overcome by force when he fled, than when he fought any battell: and that made him say, that he would leave a sharper enemy behind him, than himself: and that he meant, famine. For he

Pompey's journey into Syria

Pompey's vertues

appointed soldiers with sufficient number of ships, to lie in wait for the merchants that sailed to the country of Bosphorus, to carry them any victuals or other merchandises, prohibiting them upon pain of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best part of his army, and in his way, found the bodies of dead Romans which Mithridates had overthrown under the leading of Triarius their captain, and were unburied. So he caused them all to be taken up, and honourably buried. Lucullus having forgotten, or otherwise neglected to do it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him. Pompey now having by Afranius subdued the Arabians, dwelling about Mount Amanus, went himself in person into Syria, and made a government and province of it, being won to the Roman Empire, for that it lacked a lawful king: and conquered all Jewry also, where he took King Aristobulus, and builded certain cities there, and delivered others also from bondage, which by tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chastised well enough. Howbeit he spent the most part of his time there, deciding of controversies, pacifying of contentions and quarrels by arbiterment, which fell out betwixt the free cities, princes and kings, and sent off his friends into those places where he could not come himself. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator betwixt the Parthians and the Armenians, touching the title of a country which both parties claimed: he sent three commissioners thither to judge definitively betwixt them both. If Pompey's fame and renown were great, no less was his vertue, justice and liberality, which indeed did hide many faults, his friends and

familiars about him did commit. For truly he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keep them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did use them so well that complained unto him, or that had to deal with him in any matter; that he made them contented, patiently to bear their covetousness and straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loved best, was called Demetrius, a bondman enfranchised, who otherwise was very discreet in his doings, but being somewhat too bold of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. Cato the philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good judgement and of a noble mind, in Pompey's absence went to see the city of Antioch. Now for himself, his manner was always to go afoot, and all his friends besides that did accompany him to honour him, were on horseback. He perceiving afar off, a great sort of people coming towards him all in white, and of one side of the street little children, and on the other boys, round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withal, thinking they had done it for his sake to honour him, that they made this procession, which he in no wise would have had done. Thereupon he commanded his friends to light from their horses, and to go on foot with him. But when they came near to the gate of the city, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, having a garland on his head, and a rod in his hand, came unto them, and asked them: Where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come? Cato's friends laughed to hear this question: then said Cato, Alas, poor city, and so passed by it.

The power and insolency of Demetrius

ıe King Arabia Petræa

Notwithstanding, Pompey himself was cause that Demetrius had the less ill-will borne him, than otherwise he should have had: because they saw how boldly he would use Pompey, and how well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when Pompey oftentimes had bidden some to dinner or supper, while he was entertaining and welcoming of them, and would tarry till they were all come: Demetrius would be set at the board, and presumptuously have his head covered even to the very ears. And furthermore, before he returned into Italy out of this journey, he had already purchased the goodliest houses of pleasure and fairest walks that were about Rome, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called Demetrius' gardens: though his master Pompey was but meanly housed till his third Consulship. Howbeit afterwards, he built that famous stately theatre, called Pompey's Theatre, and joined unto that also another house, as a penthouse to his theatre, far more sumptuous and stately than the first, and yet no more than needed. Insomuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he marvelled, and asked whereabouts it was, that Pompey dined and supped. These things are reported thus. Now, the King of the Arabians, that dwelt about the castle called Petra, having never until that time made any accompt of the Romans' army, was then greatly afraid of them, and wrote unto Pompey, that he was at his devotion, to do what he would command him. Pompey thereupon to prove him, whether he meant as he spake: brought his army before this castle of Petra. Howbeit this voyage

was not liked of many men, because they judged it was an occasion found out to leave following of Mithridates, against whom they would have had him rather have bent his force, being an ancient enemy to Rome, and that began to gather strength again, and prepared (as they heard say) to lead a great army through Scythia and Pannonia into Italy. But Pompey thinking he should sooner minish his power by suffering him to go on with wars, than that he should otherwise be able to take him flying: would not toil to follow him in vain. And for these causes he would needs make wars in other places, and linger time so long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not far from the castle of Petra, and had lodged his camp for that day: as he was riding and managing his horse up and down the camp, posts came flinging to him from the realm of Pontus, and brought him good news, as was easily to be discerned afar off by the heads of their javelins, which were wreathed about with laurel boughs. The soldiers perceiving that, flocked straight about him: but Pompey would make an end of his riding first, before he read these letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horse, and returned into his camp, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand upon to speak unto them, and again, the soldiers would not tarry the making of one after the manner of their camp, which men of war do make themselves, with great turves of earth, laying one of them upon another: but for haste and earnest desire they had to hear what news there was in the letters, they laid together a heap of

submitted himself unto Pompey

Mithridates' death

saddles one upon another, and Pompey getting up on them, told how Mithridates was dead, and had killed himself with his own hands, because his son Pharnaces did rebel against him, and had won all that which his father possessed: writing unto him, that he kept it for himself and the Romans. Upon these news, all the camp ye may imagine, made wonderful joy, and did sacrifice to the gods, giving them thanks, and were as merry, as if in Mithridates' person alone, there had died an infinite number of their enemies. Pompey by this occasion, having brought this war more easily to pass than he hoped for, departed presently out of Arabia, and having speedily in few days passed through the countries lying by the way, he came at length to the city of Amisus. There he found great presents that were brought unto him from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the king's blood, and amongst the rest, Mithridates' corpse, which could not well be discerned by his face, because they that had the carrying of his body had forgotten to dry up the brain: nevertheless, such as desired to see him, knew him by certain scars he had in his face. For Pompey would in no wise see him: but to avoid envy, sent him away unto the city of Sinopé. He wondred much at the marvellous sumptuous rich apparel and weapons that he wore. The scabbard of his sword (which cost four hundred talents) was stolen by Publius, and sold to Ariarathes. Also a hat of Mithridates of wonderful workmanship, being begged of Caius his foster-brother, was secretly given to Faustus, the son of Sulla, without Pompey's privity. But afterwards when Pharnaces understood of it, he

punished the parties that had embezzled them. Pompey having ordered all things and established that province, went on his journey homewards with great pomp and glory. So, coming unto Mitylene, he released the city of all taxes and payments for Theophanes' sake, and was present at a certain play they yearly make for games, where the poets report their works, contending one with another, having at that time no other matter in hand, but Pompey's acts and gests. Pompey liked exceeding well the theatre where these plays were made, and drew a model or platform of it to make a statelier than that in Rome. As he passed by the city of Rhodes, he would needs hear all the rhetoricians dispute, and gave every one of them a talent. Posidonius hath written the disputation he made before Pompey, against Hermagoras the Rhetorician, upon the theme and proposition Pompey self did give them, touching the general question. Pompey did the like at Athens unto the philosophers there. For he gave towards the re-edifying of the city again, fifty talents. So he thought at his return home into Italy, to have been very honourably received, and longed to be at home, to see his wife and children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge given him to mingle fortune's prosperity, with some bitter sop of adversity, laid a block in his way at home in his own house, to make his return more sorrowful. For Mucia his wife had in his absence played false at tables. But Pompey being then far off, made no account of the reports nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew near into Italy, and that he was more atten-

Mucia the wife of Pompey

Pompey discharged his soldiers

tive to give ear to the ill reports he heard: then he sent unto her to tell her, that he refused her for his wife, writing nothing to her at that time, neither ever after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Notwithstanding, in Cicero's *Epistles* the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumours ran abroad in Rome which troubled them sore, being given out that he would bring his army straight to Rome, and make himself absolute lord of all the Roman Empire. Crassus thereupon, either for that he believed it indeed to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the envy towards Pompey the greater: conveyed himself, his family, and goods, sodainly out of Rome. So Pompey when he came into Italy, called all his soldiers together, and after he had made an oration unto them, as time and occasion required: he commanded them to sever themselves, and every man to repair home to apply his business, remembring to meet at Rome together, at the day of his triumph. His army being thus dispersed, and straight reported abroad for news: a marvellous thing happened unto him. The cities seeing Pompey the Great without soldiers, having but a small train about him of his familiar friends only: went all of them to meet him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquests, but from some journey taken for his pleasure. Such was the love of the people to him, that they accompanied him to Rome, whether he would or not, with a greater power than that he had brought into Italy: so that if he had been disposed to have made any innovation in the commonwealth, he had not needed his army. In those days there

was a law, that no man should enter into Rome before his triumph: whereupon Pompey sent to the Senate, to pray them to defer the choosing of Consuls for a few days, because he might be present to further Piso, who sued for the Consulship that year. They denied him his request, by Cato's means that hindered it. Pompey marvelling to hear of his boldness and plain speech, which he only used of all other to defend his just causes: had a marvellous desire to win him, and to make him his friend. So Cato having two nieces, Pompey desired to marry the one himself, and the other for his son. But Cato mistrusting this desire of Pompey's, that it was a colour only to win and corrupt him: denied him flatly. His wife and sister on the other side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with Pompey the Great. About that time it chanced, that Pompey being very desirous to prefer Afranius to be Consul, he caused certain money to be given amongst the tribes of the people, and the same was delivered out to some, even in his own gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city, every man spake ill of Pompey: that he put the Consulship to sale for money, unto those that could not deserve it by vertue, sith himself only had obtained it by purchase of many a noble and worthy deed. Then said Cato to his wife and sister: Lo now, we had been partakers of this fault too, had we matched with Pompey. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equity and his honour. But now to his triumph. For the stateliness and magnificence thereof, although he had two days' space to shew it, yet he

Cato refuseth Pompey's alliance

The countries conquered by Pompey

lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the shew, that were not seen, which would have served to have set out another triumph. First there were tables carried, whereon were written the names and titles of all the people and nations for the which he triumphed, as these that follow. The kingdom of Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia: and furthermore, the people that dwell about Phœnicia and Palestine, Judæa, and Arabia: and all the pirates which he had overcome both by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. In all these countries, he took about a thousand castles, few less than nine hundred towns and cities: of pirates ships eight hundred, and nine-and-thirty desolate towns left without inhabitants, replenished again with people by him. Moreover, these tables declared, that the revenue of the commonwealth of Rome before these conquests he made, amounted yearly but to five thousand myriads: and that from thenceforth with the sums he had added unto the former revenue, they should now receive eight thousand and five hundred myriads: and that he brought presently in ready gold and silver, and in plate and jewels, to put into the common treasury, the value of twenty thousand talents, besides that which had been distributed already amongst the soldiers: of the which, he that had least for his share, had fifteen hundred drachmas. The prisoners that were led in the shew of this triumph, besides the captains of the pirates, were these that follow. The son of Tigranes King of Armenia, with his wife and daughter: the wife of King Tigranes

himself, called Zosimé: Aristobulus King of Jewry: Mithridates' sister with five sons of hers, and some ladies of Scythia. The hostages also of the Iberians and the Albanians, and also of the kings of the Commagenians: over and besides a great number of other marks of triumphs which himself or his lieutenants had won at sundry battels in divers places. But the greatest honour that ever he wan, and which never other Consul of the Romans but himself obtained, was this: that he made his third triumph of the three parts of the world. Divers other Romans had triumphed thrice before him, howbeit he first triumphed of Africk: the second time of Europe: the third time of Asia. So that it appeared by these three triumphs, that he had triumphed in manner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by them which compare his doings unto Alexander the Great) under four-and-thirty years of age, though in truth at that time he was near forty. O happy had it been for him, if he had died when he had Alexander's fortune: for all his life afterwards, made his prosperity hateful, or his adversity miserable. Employing the honour and authority he had gotten by his valiantness, favouring men's unjust causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened honour, and unwares brought his greatness to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of a city, which receiving their enemies into them, do give them the benefit of their own strength: even so, through Pompey's power, Cæsar growing to be great, overthrew him in the end with the self same means he employed, to the overthrow of others. And thus

Captives led in Pompey's third triumph

Pompey forsaketh his friend Cicero

it fortuned. Lucullus at his return out of Asia (where Pompey had uncourteously used him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when Pompey was also come to Rome. For the Senate did counsel and encourage him to deal in the affairs of the state, seeing him wax very slow, and given too much to his ease and pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gotten. So when Pompey was come, he began to speak against him, and through the friendship and assistance of Cato, confirmed all his doings in Asia, which Pompey had broken and rejected. Pompey finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driven to have recourse unto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in friendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent and vilest person was Clodius: who received him, and made him a prey unto the people. For he had Pompey ever at his elbow, and against his honour carried him up and down the market-place after him, to speak as occasion served to confirm any matter or device which he preferred unto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompense of his good-will, he craved of Pompey (not as a thing dishonourable, but beneficial for him) that he would forsake Cicero, who was his friend, and had done much for him in matters of commonwealth. Pompey granted his request. Thereupon Cicero being brought in danger of law, and requiring Pompey's friendship to help him, he shut his door against them that came to speak in his behalf, and went out himself at another back door. Cicero thereupon fearing the extremity of law, willingly forsook Rome. At

that time, Julius Cæsar returning home from his Prætorship out of Spain, began to lay such a plot, that presently brought him into great favour, and afterwards much increased his power, but otherwise utterly undid Pompey and the commonwealth. Now he was to sue for his first Consulship, and considering the enmity betwixt Pompey and Crassus, if he joined with the one, he made the other his enemy: he devised to make them friends, a thing seeming of great honesty at the first sight, but yet a pestilent device, and as subtle a practice as could be. For the power of the city being before divided into two parts (as a ship evenly ballast of each side) and maintained the commonwealth upright: being now brought into one man's power, there was no possibility to withstand it, so that all fell to wreck in the end. Whereupon, Cato wisely told them afterwards, that said the civil wars betwixt Pompey and Cæsar was cause of the destruction of the commonwealth: that their enmity and discord was not the chief original cause of this misery, but rather their friendship and agreement. For by their friendship Cæsar was chosen Consul, who straight fell to flatter the people and poor men, and made a law for restoring of the colonies belonging to Rome, and for distributing of lands to them that had none, embasing the majesty and dignity of the chief magistrate, and making the Consulship in manner no better than the Tribuneship of the people. Bibulus his colleague and fellow Consul, did what he could to resist him, and Cato also did aid him to his power: until Cæsar openly brought Pompey into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if he did give his consent to the decrees

Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus

Bibulus driven out of the market place by Pompey

which he did set forth. Pompey answered him, He did. Why then, said Cæsar, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voices of the people: wilt thou not then come to help them? Yes that I will indeed, said Pompey. Against them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sword and target. Pompey in all his life never did nor spake thing that men more misliked, than that which he said at that time. His friends excused him, and said it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deeds afterwards shewed, that he was altogether at Cæsar's commandment. For not many days after, he married Julia the daughter of Cæsar, which was affianced, or made sure before, unto Servilius Cæpio, when no man thought of it: and to pacify Cæpio's anger, he gave him his own daughter in marriage, whom he had also promised before unto Faustus the son of Sulla: and Cæsar also married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso. After this, Pompey filling all Rome with soldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Consul Bibulus came into the market-place accompanied with Lucullus and Cato, they sodainly set upon him, and brake the bundles of rods which his officers carried before him: and some one, whatsoever he was, cast a basket of horse-dung upon his head. Moreover, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very sore hurt. By this means, having cleared the market-place of all their enemies, they passed the law for division of lands, as they would themselves. The people being fleshed with this bait, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would never stick at any matter that they would have passed.

So were all Pompey's matters confirmed, which Lucullus was against: and they appointed unto Cæsar also, the government of the Gauls on this side and beyond the Alps: and Illyria for five years' space, with four whole legions. The next year following were appointed Consuls, Piso Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius the greatest flatterer Pompey had about him. But now while things stood in these terms, Bibulus though he were Consul, kept himself close in his house for eight months' space, and only sent out bills, and set them up on every post in open places, accusing Pompey and Cæsar. Cato on the other side, as if he had been inspired with the spirit of prophecy, told openly in the Senate-house, what would become of the commonwealth and Pompey. Lucullus growing old, lay still and took his pleasure, and would no more meddle in the commonwealth. At that time it was that Pompey said: It was more unseasonable for an old man to follow his pleasure, than to attend matters of the commonwealth. Yet himself shortly after was so doted of his young wife, that he would follow her up and down in the country, and in his gardens, and leave all affairs of weight aside. Whereupon Clodius being then Tribune of the people, despised Pompey, and began to enter into seditious attempts. For when he had driven Cicero out of Rome, and had sent away Cato to make wars in Cyprus, and that Cæsar also was occupied in Gaul, and finding that the people in like case were at his commandment, because to flatter them he did what they would have him: he attempted incontinently to undo some things that Pompey had established. Amongst other things, he took

Cato foresheweth the ruin of the common wealth

Pompey was grievously orned of Clodius

Tigranes out of prison, and ever carried him up and down with him wheresoever he went, and continually pickt quarrels unto Pompey's friends, to try what credit he had. In the end Pompey coming abroad one day into the common assembly, to hear how a matter of his was handled: this Clodius having a company of vagabonds and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seen from the rest, began to ask these questions out aloud: Who is the licentiousest captain in all this city? What man is he that seeks for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a company of dancers or singers, when he spake and clapped his hands on his gown, answered him straight aloud to every question, that it was Pompey. This went to Pompey's heart, that was not wont to hear himself so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kind of fight: but yet it made him bite the lip more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus shamed and reproved, as a just revenge and punishment for his vile betraying and forsaking of Cicero. So, great stir and uproar being made upon this in the market-place, and many men sore hurt, and one of Clodius' bondmen being taken also in the prease of the people with a sword in his hand, very near unto Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing Clodius' insolency and proud words) he would never after come into the market-place, as long as Clodius was Tribune, but kept at home still, consulting with his friends what way he should take to appease the anger of the Senate against him. Thereupon, one of his friends called Culeo, persuaded him to put

away his wife Julia, and utterly to refuse Cæsar's friendship, and to stick again to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken unto them that gave him counsel to call Cicero home again, who was Clodius' mortal enemy, and in great favour with the Senate. Thereupon, he brought Cicero's brother into the market-place, to move the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blows, and divers were slain of either side: notwithstanding, he overcame Clodius. Thus Cicero being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought Pompey again in favour with the Senate, and standing with the law propounded to give Pompey authority to cause corn to be brought to Rome, he once again made him have power both by land and sea over all the territories of the Romans. For all the havens, marts and fairs, and all store-houses for corn, yea moreover all the trade of marchandise and tillage, came under Pompey's hands. Then Clodius accusing him, said: That the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of victuals, but that they made a dearth of victuals, because the law should pass, to receive Pompey's power and authority again, that was almost under foot. Other say, that this was a device of Lentulus Spinther the Consul, who gave Pompey the greater authority, because he might be sent to put King Ptolemy again into his kingdom. This notwithstanding, Canidius the Tribune preferred another law to send Pompey without an army, with two sergeants only to carry the axes before him, to bring Ptolemy in favour again with the Alexandrians. This law seemed not to mislike

Commission given to Pompey

The restoring again of Ptolemy King of Egypt

Pompey: but the Senate with honest colour put by this law, as being afraid least Pompey's person should miscarry in so doing. Nevertheless, little papers were found thrown about the market-place, and the Senate-house, declaring that Ptolemy desired Pompey might come to aid him in Spinther's stead. Timagenes writeth notwithstanding, that Ptolemy went unto Rome, and left Egypt without any occasion given him, at the persuasion of Theophanes, who persuaded him to do so, because he would give Pompey occasion to make new wars. But Theophanes' craft and subtilty made not this matter so credible, as Pompey's wit and good-nature made it altogether untrue: for his ambition was nothing so vile nor ill, as that was. So, Pompey having now full authority to cause corn to be brought to Rome, he sent then his lieutenants and friends abroad, and himself in person went into Sicily. Now being ready to return again, there rose such a storm of wind in the sea, that the mariners were in doubt to weigh their ankers. But himself first embarked, and commanded them straight to hoise sail, crying out aloud, It is of necessity I must go, but not to live. So, through his boldness and good spirit, using the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of mart and markets with corn, and all the sea besides with ships: insomuch, the plenty he brought did not only furnish the city of Rome, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a lively spring that dispersed itself through all Italy. About that time, the great conquests that Cæsar made in Gaul, did set him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in wars far from

Rome, with the Belgians, Swisses, and Englishmen: he by secret practice, was in the middest among the people at Rome, and most against Pompey in the weightiest affairs of the commonwealth. For he had the power of an army about his person, which he did harden with pains and continual practice, not with intent to fight only against the barbarous people: for the battels he had with them, were in manner but as a hunting sport, by the which he made himself invincible, and dreadful to the world. But furthermore, by the infinite gold and silver, and the incredible spoils and treasure which he wan upon the enemies whom he had overcome: and by sending great presents also to Rome, to the Ædiles, Prætors, Consuls, and their wives, he purchased him many friends. Therefore, after he had passed over the Alps again, and was come to winter in the city of Luca: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate themselves almost two hundred persons (and amongst them, Crassus and Pompey by name) went out of Rome unto him. Furthermore, there were seen at Cæsar's gate, six score sergeants carrying axes before Prætors, or Proconsuls. So Cæsar sent every one back again, either full of money, or good words: but with Pompey and Crassus, he made a match, that they two together should sue to be Consuls, and that he himself would send them good aid to Rome, at the day of election, to give their voices. And if they were chosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to have the governments of some new provinces and armies assigned them: and withal, that they should adorn the government of those

Great repair unto Cæsar, wintering at Luca

The violence of Pompey

provinces he had, for five years more. This pack being bewrayed and spread abroad through Rome, the honestest sort misliked much thereof. Whereupon Marcellinus at an open assembly of the people, did ask them both, if they would sue for the Consulship at the next election. So, they being urged by the people to make answer, Pompey spake first, and said: Peradventure he would, peradventure not. Crassus answered more gently, that he would do that which should be best for the commonwealth. Then Marcellinus sharply inveighing against Pompey, he angrily again cast him in the teeth, and said, That Marcellinus was the rankest churl, and the unthankfulest beast in the world: for that of a dumb man he had made him eloquent, and being in manner starved and famished, many a time he had filled his belly. This notwithstanding, divers that before were determined to sue for the Consulship, went no further in it, saving Lucius Domitius, whom Cato counselled and encouraged not to give it over: for, said he, Thou dost not contend for the Consulship, but to defend the common liberty of thy country against two tyrants. Pompey therefore fearing Cato's faction, lest that having all the Senate's good-wills, he should draw also the best part of the people after him: thought it not good to suffer Domitius to come into the market-place. To this end therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onset, slew the torch-bearer that carried the torch before him, and made all the rest fly: amongst whom also Cato was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of Domitius. Pompey and Crassus being become Consuls after this sort, they ordered

themselves nothing the more temperately, nor honestly. For first of all, the people being about to choose Cato prætor, Pompey being at the assembly of the election, perceiving that they would choose him, brake up the assembly, falsely alleging that he had noted certain ill signs, and afterwards, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose Antias and Vatinius prætors. After that, by Trebonius Tribune of the people, they published edicts, authorising Cæsar's charge for five years longer, according to the appointment they had made with Cæsar. Unto Crassus also they had appointed Syria, and the war against the Parthians. Unto Pompey in like case, all Africk, and both Spains, with four legions besides: of the which, at Cæsar's desire, he lent him two legions to help him in his war in Gaul. These things done, Crassus departed to his province, at the going out of his Consulship: and Pompey remained at Rome about the dedicating of his theatre, where he caused many goodly plays to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and musick, and caused wild beasts also to be baited and hunted, and killed a five hundred lions. But of all things, there was no such fearful sight and terrible fight, as was between the elephants. This great charge and bountiful expense, defrayed by Pompey, to shew the people pastime and pleasure: made him again to be very much esteemed of, and beloved amongst the people. But on the other side, he wan himself as much ill-will and envy, in committing the government of his provinces and legions into the hands of his lieutenants, whilst he himself roamed up and down the pleasant

obtaining the second consulship

The death of Julia

places of Italy, with his wife at his pleasure: either because he was far in love with her, or else for that she loved him so dearly, that he could not find in his heart to leave her company. It was reported of her, (being known of many) that this young lady Julia loved her husband more dearly, not for Pompey's flourishing age, but for his assured continence, knowing no other woman but her: besides also, he was no solemn man, but pleasant of conversation, which made women love him marvellously, unless we will reprove the courtesan Flora's testimony. It is certain, that at an election of the Ædiles, men rising suddenly in hurly-burly, drew their swords, and many were slain about Pompey: insomuch as his clothes being bloodied, he sent his men home in haste to fetch him other to change him. His young wife that was great with child, seeing his clothes bloodied, took such a flight upon it, that she fell down in a sound before them, and they had much ado to recover her, and yet she fell straight in labour upon it, and was delivered. So that they themselves, which blamed him most for his good-will he bare unto Cæsar: could not reprove the love he bare unto his wife. Another time after that, she was great with child again, whereof she died, and the child lived not many days after the mother. As Pompey was about to carry her into the country to be buried, to a house he had there near unto the city of Alba: the people by force took her corpse, and carried it into the field of Mars, more for the pity they took of the young lady, than to pleasure either Cæsar or Pompey: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more

for Cæsar's sake being absent, than for Pompey that was present. But straight when his alliance was broken, which rather covered, than bridled their ambitious desire to rule: there rose a new stir in Rome immediately, and every man's mouth was full of prittle-prattle and seditious words. Not long after that also came news, that Crassus was overthrown, and slain in Parthia: who was a manifest stay and let to keep them two from civil wars, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept themselves in a reasonable sort together. But when fortune had taken away this third champion, who could have withstood the better of them both that had overcome the other: then might have been said of these two which remained, as the comical Poet said:

Beginning of the dissension betwixt Pompey and Cæsar

> See how these champions purposing each other's force to try,
> With nointed skin and dusty hands stand vaunting valiantly.

So little can fortune prevail against nature, having no power to stop covetousness: sith so large and great an empire, and such a wide country besides, could not contain the covetous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

> Among the gods themselves all things by lot divided are,
> And none of them intrudes himself within his neighbour's share,

yet they thought not that the Empire of Rome was enough for them, which were but two. But Pompey spake openly in an oration he made unto

Pompey proposed for dictator

the people, that he ever came to office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner than they thought he would have done: and that he witnessed by discharging his army so soon. Then thinking that Cæsar would not discharge his army, he sought to make himself strong against him, by procuring offices of the city, without any other alteration. Neither would he seem to mistrust him, but he plainly shewed that he did despise and contemn him. But when he saw that he could not obtain the offices of the city as he would, because the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magistrate, so that there was none either to command, or that the people should obey. Hereupon there ran a bruit straight, that there must needs be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was Lucilius Tribune of the people, who persuaded them to choose Pompey. But Cato stuck so stoutly against it, that the Tribune had like to have lost his office, even in the market-place. But then many of Pompey's friends stepped up, and excused him, saying: That he neither sought, nor would have the Dictatorship. Then Cato commended him much, and praying him to see good order kept in the commonwealth: Pompey being ashamed to deny so reasonable a request, was careful of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, Domitius, and Messala: but afterwards when the state began to change again, by the death of one of the Consuls, and that divers were more earnestly bent to have a Dictator than before, Cato fearing it would break out with fury, determined to give Pompey some office of reasonable authority, to keep him from the other more

tyrannical. Insomuch, as Bibulus himself being chief of the Senate, and Pompey's enemy, was the first that moved, Pompey might be chosen Consul alone: for, said he, By this means, either the commonwealth shall be rid of the present trouble: or else it shall be in bondage to an honest man. This opinion was marvelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, Cato standing up, it was thought straight he would have spoken against him. But silence being made him, he plainly told them, that for his own part he would not have been the first man to have propounded that was spoken: but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meet to be followed. And therefore, said he, It is better to have an office to command, whatsoever he be, rather than none: and that he saw no man fitter to command, than Pompey, in so troublesome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that Pompey should be chosen sole Consul: and that if he saw in his discretion he should need the assistance of another companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were past. Thus was Pompey made Consul alone by Sulpicius, Regent for that day. Then Pompey made very friendly countenance unto Cato, and thanked him for the honour he had done to him, praying him privately to assist him with his counsel in the Consulship. Cato answered him, That there was no cause why he should thank him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake, but for respect of the common wealth only: and for his counsel, if he would ask it, he should privately have it, if not, yet that he would openly say that which he thought. Such a man

Pompey chosen Consul

The vertues of Cornelia

was Cato in all his doings. Now Pompey returning into the city, married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, not a maiden, but late the widow of Publius Crassus the son, that was slain in Parthia, to whom she was married a maiden. This lady had excellent gifts to be beloved besides her beauty. For she was properly learned, could play well on the harp, was skilful in musick and geometry, and took great pleasure also in philosophy, and not vainly without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behaviour, without brawling and foolish curiosity, which commonly young women have, that are endued with such singular gifts. Her father also, was a noble man, both in blood, and life. Notwithstanding, these unlike marriages did nothing please some: for Cornelia was young enough to have been his son's wife. Now the best citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the commonwealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him only, as her remedy to redress the same: and that he in the meantime gave himself over to marrying and feasting, where rather he should have bin careful of his Consulship, which was disposed upon him against the law, for common calamities' sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had been quiet. Furthermore, he sharply proceeded against them, which by bribery and unlawful means came to office: and having made laws and ordinances for the administration of justice otherwise, he dealt justly and uprightly in all things, giving safety, order, silence and gravity, to matters of judgement, with force of arms, himself being present: saving that when his father-in-law was also accused among other, he sent for the three

hundred and threescore judges home to his house, praying them to help him. Whereupon, when the accuser saw Scipio accompanied by the judges themselves, returning into the market-place: he let fall his suit. This made Pompey again be condemned, and blamed also more than before, for that he having made a law, that no man should praise the offenders, whilst their matter was a-hearing: came himself and openly praised Plancus being accused. Thereupon Cato being one of the judges, stopped his ears with both his hands, saying: That he might not hear an offender praised, seeing it was forbidden by law. But therefore he was refused for a judge, before they gave sentence. Notwithstanding, Plancus was condemned by all the rest of the judges, to Pompey's great shame and reproach. Shortly after, Hypsæus, one that had been Consul, being likewise accused, watching Pompey on a time as he came out of his bath to go to supper: upon his knees he besought Pompey's favour and help. But he stately passed by him, and gave him no other answer, but told him, he marred his supper, and said nothing else to him. This inconstancy was much reproved in Pompey. Howbeit otherwise he set all things in good order, and chose his father-in-law Scipio, for his colleague and fellow in the Consulship, for the five last moneths. After that, he caused the government of his provinces to be appointed him for four years more, with commission to take yearly out of the treasure a thousand talents to defray the charges of this war. Cæsar's friend seeing that, stepped up for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideration of him, that had likewise great wars for the Empire

Pompey blamed for inconstancy

Pompey fell sick at Naples

of Rome: saying, That his good service deserved, either that they should make him Consul again, or else that they should prolong his charge and government, so as he might yet peaceably enjoy the honour to command that which he had conquered, to the end that no other successor might reap the fruit of his labour. Much stir and contention being about this matter at Rome, Pompey as though for goodwill he meant to excuse the envy they might have borne Cæsar, said: That he had received letters from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this war: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should grant him privilege to demand the second Consulship, although he were absent. Which Cato stoutly withstood, saying, That he must return home as a private man, and leaving his army, should come in person to crave recompense of his country. But because Pompey made no reply nor answer to the contrary, men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of Cæsar, and the rather, because he had sent unto him for the two legions which he had lent him, under colour of his war against the Parthians. But Cæsar though he smelt him wherefore he sent for his soldiers, returned them home with liberal reward. About that time, Pompey fell sick at Naples of a dangerous disease, whereof notwithstanding he recovered again. The Neapolitans thereupon, by persuasion of Praxagoras, one of the chiefest men of their city: did sacrifice to the gods for his recovery. The like did also their neighbours round about; and in fine, it ran so generally through all Italy, that there was no city or town (great or small) but made open feast and rejoicing

for many days together. Besides, the infinite number of people was such, that went to meet him out of all parts: that there was not place enough for them all, but the highways, cities, towns and ports of the sea, were all full of people, feasting and sacrificing to the gods, rejoicing for his recovery. Divers also went to meet him, crowned with garlands, and so did attend on him, casting nosegays and flowers upon him. Thus was his journey the noblest sight that ever was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought also, that this was the chiefest cause of the beginning of the civil wars. For he fell into such a pride, and glorious conceit of himself, with the exceeding joy he took to see himself thus honoured: that forgetting his orderly government, which made all his former doings to prosper, he grew too bold in despising of Cæsar's power, as though he stood in no need of other power or care to withstand him, but that he could overcome him as he would, far more easily, than he could have done before. Furthermore, Appius thereupon returned from Gaul, that brought him his two legions back again which he had lent unto Cæsar, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and giving out many foul words against Cæsar. For he said, That Pompey knew not his own strength and authority, that would seek to make himself strong, by other power against him: considering that he might overcome him with his own legions he should bring with him, so soon as they saw but Pompey in the face, such ill-will did Cæsar's own soldiers bear him, and were marvellous desirous besides to see himself. These flattering tales so puffed up Pompey, and brought him

Pride and fool conceit made Pompey despise Cæsar

Pompey's proud words

into such a security and trust of himself, that he mocked them to scorn which were affraid of wars. And to those also which said, That if Cæsar came to Rome, they saw not how they could resist his power: he smilingly answered them again, and bad them take no thought for that: For as oft, said he, as I do but stamp with my foot upon the ground of Italy, I shall bring men enough out of every corner, both footmen and horsemen. In the meantime, Cæsar gathered force still upon him, and thenceforth drew nearer unto Italy, and sent of his soldiers daily to Rome to be present at the election of the magistrates, and many of them that were in office, he wan with money; amongst whom, was Paul, one of the Consuls, whom he wan of his side, by means of a thousand five hundred talents. And Curio the Tribune of the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought: and Mark Antony also, who for Curio's sake, was discharged likewise for part of the debt which Curio ought, being also bound as himself. Furthermore, it was found that a captain or centurion sent from Cæsar, being near unto the Senate, understanding that the council would not prolong Cæsar's government which he required, clapping his hand upon the pommel of his sword: well said he, this shall give it him. So, to be short, all that was done and said, tended to this end. Notwithstanding, the petitions and requests that Curio made in Cæsar's behalf, seemed somewhat more reasonable for the people: for he requested one of the two, either to make Pompey to put down his army, or else to license Cæsar to have his army as well as he. For, either being both made private men, they

would fall to agreement of themselves: or else being both of like strength, neither of both would seek any alteration, fearing one another, but would content themselves either of them with their own. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other: should double his power whom he feared. Thereto very hotly replied the Consul Marcellus, calling Cæsar, thief, and said That he should be proclaimed an open enemy to Rome, if he did not disperse his army. This notwithstanding, in fine Curio, Antony, and Piso, procured that the Senate should decide the matter. For, said he, all those that would have Cæsar leave his army, and Pompey to keep his: let them stand on the one side. Thereupon the most part of them stood at one hand. Then he bade them again come away from them, that would have them both leave their armies. Then there remained only but two-and-twenty that stood for Pompey: and all the rest went of Curio's side. Then Curio looking aloft for joy of the victory, went into the market-place, and there was received of his Tribune faction, with shouts of joy and clapping of hands, and infinite nosegays and garlands of flowers thrown upon him. Pompey was not then present to see the Senators' good-will towards him: because by the law, such as have commandment over soldiers, cannot enter into Rome. Notwithstanding Marcellus standing up, said: That he would not stand trifling hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew that ten legions were already passed over the Alps, intending to come in arms against them: and that he would send a man unto them, that should defend their country well enough. Straight they

A hot debate

Pompey chosen to go against Cæsar

changed apparel at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamity. Marcellus then coming through the market-place unto Pompey, being followed of all the Senate, went to him, and told him openly: Pompey, I command thee to help thy country with that army thou hast already, and also to levy more to aid thee. The like speech did Lentulus use unto him, who was appointed one of the Consuls the year following. Now, when Pompey thought to levy soldiers in Rome and to bill them, some would not obey him, a few others went unwillingly to him with heavy hearts, and the most part of them cried, Peace, peace. Antony also, against the Senate's mind, read a letter unto the people sent from Cæsar containing certain offers and reasonable requests, to draw the common people's affection towards him. For his request was, that Pompey and he should both of them resign their governments, and should dismiss their armies to make all well, referring themselves wholly to the judgement of the people, and to deliver up account unto them of their doings. Lentulus being now entered into his Consulship, did not assemble the Senate. But Cicero lately returned out of Cilicia, practised to bring them to agreement, propounding that Cæsar should leave Gaul, and all the rest of his army, reserving only two legions and the government of Illyria, attending his second Consulship. Pompey liked not this motion. Then Cæsar's friends were contented to grant that he should have but one of his legions. But Lentulus spake against it, and Cato cried out on the other side also, that Pompey was deceived, and they both. So all treaty of peace was cut off. In the

meantime, news came to Rome, that Cæsar had won Ariminum, a fair great city of Italy, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power. But that was not true. For he came but with three thousand horse, and five thousand footmen, and would not tarry for the rest of his army that was yet on the other side of the mountains in Gaul, but made haste rather to surprise his enemies upon the sudden, being afraid and in garboil, not looking for him so soon: rather than to give them time to be provided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the river side of Rubicon, (which was the utmost confine of the province he had in charge towards Italy) he stayed suddenly, weighing with himself the great enterprise he took in hand. At the last, as men that being of a marvellous height from the ground do headlong throw themselves down closing of their eyes, and withdrawing their minds from the thought of the danger: crying out these words only unto them that were by, in the Greek tongue, ἀνερρίφθω κίβος: in English, Let the die be cast (meaning hereby to put all in hazard, and according to our proverb, to set all on six and seven) he passed over with his army. Now, the news of his coming being carried to Rome, they were in such a marvellous fear, as the like was never seen. For all the Senate ran immediately unto Pompey, and all the other magistrates of the city fled unto him also. Tullus asking Pompey what power he had to resist them, he answered him, faltering somewhat in his speech: That he had the two legions ready which Cæsar sent him back again, and that he thought with the number of them which he had

Cæsar's saying, Let the die be cast

Tumult at Rome upon Cæsar's coming

levied, in haste, he should make up the number of thirty thousand fighting men. Then Tullus cried out openly: Ah, thou hast mocked us, Pompey: and thereupon gave order they should send ambassadors unto Cæsar. There was one Favonius in the company, who otherwise was no ill man, saving that he was somewhat too bold, thinking to counterfeit Cato's plain manner of speech: he bade Pompey then stamp his foot upon the ground, and make those soldiers come which he had promised them. Pompey gently bare with Favonius' mock. But when Cato told him also, what he had prophesied beforehand of Cæsar, he answered him again: Indeed thou hast prophesied more truly than I, but I have dealt more friendly than he. Then Cato thought good that they should make him Lieutenant-General of Rome with full and absolute power to command all, saying: That the self same men which do the greatest mischief, know best also how to remedy the same. So he immediately departed into Sicily, having the charge and government of that country: and also every one of the other Senators went unto the charge they were appointed. Thus all Italy being in arms, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of Rome, came flying thither from all parts: and those on the other side that were within Rome, went out as fast, and forsook the city in this trouble and disorder. That which might serve being willing to obey, was found very weak: and that on the other side which by disobedience did hurt, was too strong and ill to be governed by the magistrates, having law to command. For there was no possibility to

pacify their fear, neither would they suffer Pompey to offer things as he would: but every man followed his own fancy, even as he found himself grieved, afraid, or in doubt, and in one day they were in diverse minds. Pompey could hear nothing of certainty of his enemies. For some, one while would bring him news one way, and then again another way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he saw the tumult and confusion so great at Rome, as there was no mean to pacify it: he commanded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behind, that he would take them for Cæsar's friends, and so at night departed out of the city. Then the two Consuls fled also, without doing any sacrifice to the gods, as they were wont to do before they went to make any wars. So Pompey, even in his greatest trouble and most danger, might think himself happy to have every man's good-will as he had. For, though diverse misliked the cause of this war, yet no man hated the captain: but there were more found that could not forsake Pompey for the love they bare him, than there were that followed him to fight for their liberty. Shortly after Pompey was gone out of Rome, Cæsar was come to Rome, who possessing the city, spake very gently unto all them he found there, and pacified their fear: saving that he threatened Metellus, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, because he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the commonwealth. Unto that cruel threat, he added a more bitter speech also, saying: That it was not so hard a thing for him to do it, as to speak it.

Cæsar entered Rome when Pompey fled

Pompey's stratagem at Brundusium

Thus having put down Metellus, and taken that he needed to serve his turn, he took upon him to follow Pompey, thinking to drive him out of Italy, before that his army he had in Spain should come to him. Pompey in the meantime, having taken the city of Brundusium, and gotten some ships together: he made the two Consuls presently embark with thirty ensigns of footmen, which he sent beyond the sea before unto Dyrrachium. And incontinently after that, he sent his father-in-law Scipio, and Cnæus Pompey his son, into Syria, to provide him ships. Himself on the other side, fortified the rampers of the city, and placed the lightest soldiers he had upon the walls, and commanded the Brundusians not to stir out of their houses: and further, he cast trenches within the city, at the end of the streets in divers places, and filled those trenches with sharp-pointed stakes, saving two streets only, which went unto the haven. Then the third day after, having embarked all the rest of his soldiers at his pleasure, he suddenly lifting up a sign into the air, to give them warning which he had left to guard the rampers: they straight ran to him with speed, and quickly receiving them into his ships, he weighed anker, and hoisted sail. Cæsar perceiving the walls naked without ward, he straight mistrusted that Pompey was fled: who hasting after him, had almost run upon the sharp stakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the Brundusians given him warning of them. So he stayed, and ran not overthwart the city, but fetched a compass about to go to the haven: where he found that all the ships were under sail, two ships only excepted, upon the which were left a few

soldiers. Some think that this departure of Pompey, was one of the best stratagems of war that ever he used. Notwithstanding, Cæsar marvelled much, that he being in a strong city, and looking for his army to come out of Spain, and being master of the sea besides, that he would ever forsake Italy. Cicero also reproved him, for that he rather followed Themistocles' counsel, than Pericles: considering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened unto Pericles', than Themistocles' time. Yea Cæsar himself shewed, that he was afraid of the time. For when he had taken Numerius one of Pompey's friends, he sent him unto Pompey at Brundusium, to offer him reasonable conditions of peace: but Numerius followed Pompey, and sailed away with him. By this means, Cæsar in threescore days being lord of all Italy without any bloodshed: he was very desirous to follow with speed after Pompey. But because he had no ships ready, he let him go, and hasted towards Spain, to join Pompey's army there unto his. Now Pompey in the mean space, had gotten a marvellous great power together both by sea and by land. His army by sea was wonderful. For he had five hundred good ships of war, and of galliots, foists, and pinnaces, an infinite number. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemen of Rome, and of all Italy, to the number of seven thousand horse, all rich men of great houses, and valiant minds. But his footmen, they were men of all sorts, and raw soldiers untrained, whom Pompey continually exercised, lying at the city of Berœa, not sitting idly, but taking pains, as if he had been in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose to encourage others

Cæsar goeth into Spain

Pompey traineth his soldiers

seeing Pompey being eight-and-fifty years old, fight on foot armed at all pieces, and then on horseback, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full career, and easily to put it up again, and to throw his dart from him, not only with such agility to hit point-blank, but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that few young men could do the like. Thither came divers, kings, princes, and great lords of countries, and yielded themselves unto him: and of Roman captains that had borne office, he had of them about him, the number of a whole senate. Amongst them came unto him Labienus also, who before was Cæsar's friend, and had always been with him in his wars in Gaul. There came unto him also, Brutus, the son of that Brutus which was slain in Gaul, a valiant man, and which had never spoken unto Pompey until that day, because he took him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defender of the liberty of Rome. Cicero himself also, though he had both written and given counsel to the contrary, thought it a shame to him not to be amongst the number of them that would hazard their lives for defence of their country. There came unto him also Tidius Sextius even into Macedon, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legs: whom others laughing to scorn to see him come, when Pompey saw him, he rose and went to meet him, judging it a good token of their good-wills unto him, when such old men as he, chose rather to be with him in danger, than at home with safety. Hereupon they sat in council, and following Cato's opinion, decreed that they should put no citizen of Rome to death but in battell, and should sack no

city that was subject to the empire of Rome, the which made Pompey's part the better liked. For they that had nothing to do with the wars, either because they dwelt far off, or else for that they were so poor, as otherwise they were not regarded: did yet both in deed and word favour Pompey's part, thinking him an enemy both to the gods and men, that wished not Pompey victory. Cæsar also shewed himself very merciful and courteous, where he overcame. For when he had won all Pompey's army that was in Spain, he suffered the captains that were taken to go at liberty, and only reserved the soldiers. Then coming over the Alps again, he passed through all Italy, and came to the city of Brundusium in the winter quarter: and there passing over the sea, he went unto the city of Oricum, and landed there. Now Cæsar having Vibius, one of Pompey's familiar friends with him, whom he had taken prisoner: he sent him unto Pompey to pray again that they might meet, and both of them disperse their armies within three days, and being reconciled (giving their faith one to another) so to return into Italy like good friends together. Pompey thought again, that these were new devices to entrap him. Thereupon he suddenly went down to the sea, and took all the places of strength by the sea side, safely to lodge his camp in, and all the ports, creeks and harbours for ships to lie in road; so that what wind soever blew on the sky, it served his turn, to bring him either men, victuals, or money. Cæsar on the other side was so distressed both by sea and by land, that he was driven to procure battell, and to assail Pompey even in his own forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom most times he ever

The clemency of Cæsar

Pompey overthrew Cæsar

had the better in all skirmishes, saving once, when he was in danger to have lost all his army. For Pompey had valiantly repulsed his men, and made them fly, and had slain two thousand of them in the field: but he durst not enter pell-mell with them into their camp as they fled. Whereupon Cæsar said to his friends, that his enemy had won the victory that day, if he had known how to overcome. This victory put Pompey's men in such courage, that they would needs hazard battell. And Pompey himself also though he wrote letters unto strange kings, captains, and cities of his confederacy, as if he had already won all: was yet afraid to fight another battell, thinking it better by tract of time, and distress of victuals, to overcome him. For Cæsar's men being old and expert soldiers, and wont ever to have the victory when they fought together: he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kind of way, to be driven to often removing of their camp from place to place, and still to fortify and intrench themselves, and therefore that they would rather put it to adventure out of hand, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that Pompey had before persuaded his men to be quiet, and not to stir, perceiving that after his last bickering Cæsar being scanted with victuals raised his camp, and departed thence to go into Thessaly, through the country of the Athamanians: then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cried, Cæsar is fled, let us follow him. And others, Let us return home again into Italy. And others also sent their friends and servants before to Rome, to hire them houses near the market-place: intending when they came thither to sue for offices in the

commonwealth. Some there were also that in a jollity would needs take ship, and sail into the Isle of Lesbos, unto Cornelia (whom Pompey had sent thither) to carry her that good news, that the war was ended. Thereupon assembling the council, Africanus thought it best to win Italy, for that was the chiefest mark to be shot at in this war: for whosoever obtained that, had straight all Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and Gaul at commandment. Furthermore, that it was a dishonour to Pompey (which in reason should touch him above all things) to suffer their country to be in such cruel bondage and subjection unto slaves and flatterers of tyrants, offering it self as it were into their hands. But Pompey neither thought it honourable for him, once again to fly from Cæsar, and to make him follow him, sith fortune had given him opportunity to have Cæsar in chase: nor lawful also before the gods, to forsake his father-in-law Scipio, and many other also that had been Consuls, dispersed abroad in Greece and Thessaly, which should immediately fall into Cæsar's hands, with all their riches and armies they had. Furthermore, he said, that they had care enough for the city of Rome, which drew the wars farthest off from them: so as, they remaining safe and quiet at home, (neither hearing nor feeling the misery of wars) might in the end peaceably receive and welcome him home, that remained conqueror. With this determination, he marched forward to follow Cæsar, being determined not to give him battell, but to besiege him, and only to compass him in still being near unto him, and so to cut him off from victuals. There was also another reason that made

Pompey followeth Cæsar into Thessaly

Pompey mocked of his own soldiers

him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech given out among the Roman knights, that so soon as ever they had overcome Cæsar, they must also bring Pompey to be a private man again. Some say therefore, that Pompey would never afterwards employ Cato in any greater matters of weight in all this war, but when he followed Cæsar, he left him captain of his army to keep his carriage by sea, fearing that so soon as Cæsar were once overcome, he would make him straight also resign his authority. Pompey following Caesar in this manner, fair and softly they cried out upon him, that he made no war with Cæsar, but against his country and the Senate, because he might be still in authority: and that he would never leave to have them for his servants and guard about him, which should rule and command the world. Furthermore, Domitius Ahenobarbus, calling him continually Agamemnon, and king of kings: made him much to be envied. Favonius also mocked him as much as the other, that spoke most boldest: for he went crying up and down, My maisters, I give you warning, you are like to eat no Tusculan figs this year. And Lucius Afranius also, he that had lost the army which he had in Spain, and was also suspected for a traitor, seeing Pompey then refused to come to battell: I marvel, said he, that they which accuse me, do not lustily go to find him out, whom they call the marchant and common buyer of provinces, to fight with him presently. With these and many such other lewd speeches, they compelled Pompey in the end (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not deny his friends anything)

to follow their vain hope and desires, and to forsake his own wise determination: the which thing, no good shipmaister, and much less a chief and sovereign captain, over so many nations and so great armies, should have suffered and consented unto. Now, he that did always commend the physicians, that would not follow the fond desire of the sick patients: was himself contented to obey the worst part of his army, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health stood in hazard. For who would think or judge them to be wise men, and in their wits, who walking up and down their camp, did already sue to be Consuls and Prætors? considering that Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were at strife together, making friends to be high bishop, (which office Cæsar had) as if they should have fought with Tigranes King of Armenia, or with the king of the Nabethæans, which had camped by them, and not with Cæsar and his army: who had taken a thousand towns by assault, had subdued above three hundred several nations, and had won infinite battels of the Germans and Gauls, and was never overcome: had also taken a million of men prisoners, and had likewise slain so many at divers battels. All this notwithstanding, they of Pompey's side still being importunate of him, and troubling him in this sort: in fine, when they were come into the fields of Pharsalia, they compelled Pompey to call a council. There Labienus, general of the horsemen standing up, sware before them all, that he would not return from the battell, before he had made his enemies to fly. The like oath all the rest did take. The next night following, Pompey thought in his dream, that he came

Pompey's dream

Wonderful noises heard in Pompey's camp

into the theatre, and that the people to honour him, made a marvellous great clapping of their hands: and that he himself did set forth the temple of Venus the Conqueror with many spoils. This vision partly put him in good courage, and partly again made him doubt: for that he was afraid, because Cæsar's family was descended from this goddess Venus, that his dream did signify, that he should have the honour of the victory, with the spoils he should win of him. Besides all this, there ran sudden fearful noises and tumults in his camp without any apparent cause, that waked all the camp upon it. At the fourth watch, when the watch is renewed in the morning, there was seen a marvellous great light over Cæsar's camp, and they were all at rest, which flamed like a burning torch, and fell in Pompey's camp. The which Cæsar himself said he saw, when he went to visit the watch. At the break of the day, Cæsar being determined to raise his camp, and to go to the city of Scotusa, as his soldiers were busy about overthrowing of their tents, and sending away their bags and baggage before: there came scouts unto him, that brought him word they saw a great deal of armour and weapon carried to and fro in their enemies' camp, and heard a noise and bustling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After these came in other scouts, that brought word also that their voward was already set in battell ray. Then Cæsar said, That the day was now come they had longed for so sore, and that they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of victuals: and thereupon gave order presently that they should

put out the red coat of arms upon his tent, which was the sign all the Romans used to shew that they would fight. The soldiers seeing that out, left their carriage and tents and with great shouts of joy ran to arm themselves. The captains of every band also, bestowed every man in such place as he should fight, and so they conveyed themselves into battell ray, without any tumult or disorder, as quietly, as if they should have entered into a dance. Pompey himself led the right wing of his army against Antony. The middle of the battell he gave unto Scipio his father-in-law being right against Domitius Calvinus. The left wing also was led by Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the which was guarded with men of arms, for all the horsemen were placed on that side, to distress Cæsar if they could, that was directly against them: and to overthrow the tenth legion that was so much accounted of, being the valiantest soldiers the enemy had in all his army, amongst the which Cæsar did ever use to fight in person. Cæsar then seeing the left wing of his enemies so strong with the guard of the horsemen, and being afraid of the brightness of their armour: brought forward six ensigns for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legion, commanding them that no man should stir, lest their enemies should discover them. And furthermore, when the horsemen of the enemy's should come to give charge upon them, that then they should run with speed on the one side of the foremost ranks, and not to throw their darts far from them, as the valiantest soldiers are wont to do, to come to the sword the sooner: but to throw them upwards into their enemies' eyes and faces. For, said he, these brave fellows and fine dancers, will

Pompey's ordinance of battell

Battell betwixt Cæsar and Pompey

never abide to have their faces marred. And this was Cæsar's device at that time. Pompey being on horseback, rode up and down to consider the ordinance of both battels: and perceiving that his enemies stood still in their ranks, looking for the signal of battell, and that his own battell on the other side waved up and down disorderly, as men unskilful in wars: he was afraid they would fly before they were charged. Thereupon he straightly commanded them in the voward, that they should steadily keep their ranks, and standing close together should so defend themselves, receiving the charge of the enemy. But Cæsar disliked of that device, for thereby, said he, the force of their blows was lessened, and in withholding them from giving the charge, he not only took away that courage which the assailant carrieth with him that cometh with fury: but made them moreover faint-hearted, in receiving the charge of the enemies. In Cæsar's army, there were about two-and-twenty thousand fighting men: and in Pompey's army, somewhat above twice as many. Now, when the word of battell was given of either side, and that the trumpets did sound the alarm: every man began to look to himself. But a few of the chiefest of the Romans, and certain Grecians that were there also out of the set battell, perceiving the imminent danger, began to bethink them, to what pass the ambition and wilful contention between these two men, had brought the state of Rome. For the weapons of kinsmen, the bands of brethren, the ensigns all alike, the flower of so many valiant men of one city, did serve for a notable example, to shew how man's nature prickt forward with covetousness, is quite

blind and without reason. For if they could have been contented quietly to have governed that which they had conquered: the greatest and best part of the world, both by sea and by land, was subject unto them. Or otherwise, if they could not have quenched their unsatiable desire of victory and triumph, they had occasion of war enough offered them against the Parthians and Germans. Furthermore they had enough to do besides to conquer Scythia, and the Indians: and withal, they had had an honest colour to have cloked their ambitious desires, if it had been but to have brought the barbarous people to a civil life. For what horsemen of Scythia, or arrows of Parthia, or riches of Indians, could have abidden the power of threescore and ten thousand Roman soldiers, and specially being led by two so famous captains, as Pompey, and Cæsar? whose names, these strange and far nations understood long before the name of the Romans: so great were their victories, having conquered so many wild and barbarous people. They both being then in arms the one against the other, not regarding their honour which made them so ambitious: did not spare their own country, who had until that time remained unvincible, both in fame and prowess. For, the alliance that was made between them, the love of Julia, and marrying with her, was suspected from the beginning to be but a deceit, and a pledge as it were of a conspiracy made between them, for a private benefit, more than for any true friendship. Now when the fields of Pharsalia were covered over with men, with horse and armour, and that the signal of battell was given on either side: the first man of in Pharsalia

Pompey's men

Cæsar's army that advanced forward to give charge, was Caius Crassinius, captain of six-score and five men, to perform a great promise which he had made unto Cæsar. For Cæsar, when he came out of his tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the success of this battell? Crassinius holding out his right hand unto him, courageously cried: O Cæsar, thine is the victory, and this day thou shalt commend me either alive or dead. Then remembering these words, he brake out of the ranks, and many following after him, ran amongst the middest of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword, and made great slaughter. But he pressing forward still, one with a thrust ran him through the mouth, that the sword's point came through at his neck. Thereupon Crassinius being slain, the battel was equal. Pompey did not make his left wing march over suddenly, but stayed, and cast his eyes abroad to see what his horsemen would do, the which had already divided their companies, meaning to compass in Cæsar, and to make the small number of horsemen which he had before him to give back upon the squadron of his footmen. On the other side, as soon as Cæsar had given the signal of battell, his horsemen retired back a little, and the six ensigns which he had placed secretly behind them, (being three thousand fighting men) ran suddenly to assail the enemy upon the flank, and when they came near unto the horsemen, they threw the points of their darts upwards according to Cæsar's commandment, and hit the young gentlemen full in their faces. They being utterly unskilful to fight, and least of all looking

for such manner of fight: had not the hearts to defend themselves, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, and clapping their hands on their faces, shamefully fled. They being overthrown, Cæsar's men made no account to follow them, but went and gave charge upon the battell of footmen, in that place specially where they had no guard of horsemen, whereby they might the easilier be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flank, and in the voward also by the tenth legion, perceiving themselves (contrary to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, where they thought to have environed them: they could make no longer resistance. They also being likewise driven to fly, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, and conjectured the flying of his horsemen: what mind he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his countenance, a man might well think he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was Pompey the Great: for that he went straight into his camp, and spake never a word to any man, rightly verifying Homer's verses to this effect:

put to flight by Cæsar

> But mighty Jove who sits aloft in ivory chariot high,
> Strake Ajax with so great a fear, that Ajax by-and-by
> Let fall his leathern target made of tough ox-hide sevenfold,
> And ran away, not looking back, for all he was so bold.

In this estate Pompey entred into his tent, and sate him down there a great while, and spake never a word: until such time as many of the enemies entered pell-mell with his men that fled into his

The miserable state of Pompey

camp. And then, he said no more: but What, even into our camp? and so rising up, he put a gown on his back even fit for his misfortune, and secretly stale out of the camp. The other legions also fled: and great slaughter was made of the tent-keepers, and their servants that guarded the camp. For Asinius Pollio writeth (who was at that battell on Cæsar's side) that there were slain only but six thousand soldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their camp, Cæsar's soldiers then found plainly the madness and vanity of Pompey's men. For, all their tents and pavilions were full of nosegays and garlands of myrtle, and their couches all covered with flowers, their tables full of bowls of wine, and men prepared ready to do sacrifice for joy, rather than to arm themselves to fight. Thus went they to battel, carried away with this vain and foolish hope. When Pompey was gone a little way from his camp, he forsook his horse, having a very few with him: and perceiving that no man pursued him, he went on foot fair and softly, his head full of such thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might have, who for four-and thirty-years space together, was wont continually to carry victory away, and began then even in his last cast, to prove what it was to fly, and to be overcome: and who thought then with himself, how in one hour's space he had lost the honour and riches which he had gotten in so many foughten fields and battels, whereby he was not long before followed and obeyed of so many thousand men of war, of so many horsemen, and of such a great fleet of ships on the sea, and then to go as he did in such poor estate, and with so small a train,

that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the city of Larissa, and coming to the valley of Tempé: there being athirst, he fell down on his belly and drank of the river. Then rising up again, he went his way thence and came to the seaside, and took a fisher's cottage, where he lay all night. The next morning by break of the day, he went into a little boat upon the river, and took the freemen with him that were about him: and as for the slaves, he sent them back again, and did counsel them boldly to go to Cæsar, and not to be afraid. Thus rowing up and down the shore side, in his little boat, he spied a great ship of burden in the main sea, riding at anker, which was ready to weigh anker, and to sail away. The maister of the ship was a Roman, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him by sight very well. He was called Peticius, who had dreamed the night before, that he saw Pompey speak unto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in poverty and in misery. So, he had told this dream unto the mariners which sailed with him (as men commonly use to do, specially when they dream of such weighty matters, and being at leisure withal) and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he saw a little boat on the river rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shook their cloaks at them, and held out their hands. Thereupon, Peticius standing up, knew Pompey straight, even in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commanded his mariners to let down his boat, and gave him his

Pompey embarketh in Peticius' ship

Pompey arriveth the isle Lesbos

hand, calling him Pompey by his name, mistrusting (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he received him into his ship, and all those he would have with him: and then hoised sail. With Pompey there were both the Lentuli and Favonius. Shortly after also, they perceived King Deïotarus coming from the river to them, that beckoned and made signs to receive them: which they did. At supper-time, the maister of the ship, made ready such meat as he had aboard. Favonius seeing Pompey for lack of men to wait on him, washing of himself: ran unto him, washed him, and anointed him, and afterwards continued still to wait upon him, and to do such service about him, as servants do to their maisters, even to washing of his feet, and making ready of his supper. When a simple man saw him, that could no skill of service, he said:

Good gods, how everything becometh noble men!

Pompey passing then by the city of Amphipolis, coasted from thence into the Isle of Lesbos, to go fetch his wife Cornelia and his son being then in the city of Mitylene. There having cast out his anker, and riding at road, he put a messenger on the shore and sent him into the city to his wife: not according to her expectation, who was still put in good hope by continual letters and news brought unto her, that the war was ended, and determined by the city of Dyrrachium. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the heart so much as to salute her, but letting her understand rather

by his tears than words, the great misfortune Pompey had: told her, she must despatch quickly, if she would see Pompey with one ship only, and none of his, but borrowed. The young lady hearing these news, fell down in a swoon before him, and neither spake nor stirred of long time: but after she was come to her self, remembering that it was no time to weep and lament, she went with speed through the city unto the seaside. There Pompey meeting her, took her in his arms, and embraced her. But she sinking under him, fell down and said: "Out alas, woe worth my hard fortune, not thine (good husband) that I see thee now brought to one poor ship, who before thou marriedst thy unfortunate Cornelia, wert wont to sail these seas with five hundred ships. Alas, why art thou come to see me, and why didst thou not leave me to cursed fate and my wicked destiny: sith my self is cause of all this thy evil? Alas, how happy a woman had I been, if I had been dead before I heard of the death of my first husband Publius Crassus, whom the wretched Parthians slew! And how wise a woman had I been, if (according to my determination) I had killed my self immediately after him: where now I live to bring yet this misfortune unto Pompey the Great!" It is reported that Cornelia spake these words, and that Pompey also answered her in this manner. "Peradventure, Cornelia mine, thou hast known a better fortune, which hath also deceived thee, because she hath continued longer with me than her manner is. But since we are born men, we must patiently bear these troubles, and prove fortune again. For it is no impossible matter for us again

The words of Cornelia unto Pompey

Pompey arriveth at Attalea

to come into prosperity out of this present misery, as to fall out of late prosperity into present calamity." When Cornelia heard him say so, she sent back into the city for her stuff and family. The Mitylenians also came openly to salute Pompey, and prayed him to come into the city, and to refresh himself: but Pompey would not, and gave them counsel to obey the conqueror, and not to fear anything, for Cæsar was a just man, and of a courteous nature. Then Pompey turning unto Cratippus the Philosopher, who came among the citizens also to see him: made his complaint unto him, and reasoned a little with him about divine providence. Cratippus courteously yielded unto him, putting him still in better hope, fearing lest he would have grown too hot and troublesome, if he would have holden him hard to it. For Pompey at the length might have asked him, what providence of the gods there had been in his doings? And Cratippus might have answered him, That for the ill government of the commonwealth of Rome, it was of necessity that it should fall into the hands of a sovereign prince. Peradventure Cratippus might then have asked him: How, and whereby Pompey wouldest thou make us believe, if thou hadst overcome Cæsar, that thou wouldest have used thy good fortune better than he? But for divine matters, refer them to the gods as it pleaseth them. Pompey taking his wife and friends with him, hoised sail, and landed nowhere, but compelled to take fresh acates and water. The first city he came unto, was Attalea in the country of Pamphylia. Thither came to him certain galleys out of Cilicia, and many soldiers also, insomuch he had a threescore Senators of Rome again in his

company. Then, understanding that his army by sea was yet whole, and that Cato had gathered together a great number of his soldiers after the overthrow, whom he had transported with him into Africk: he lamented, and complained unto his friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, and not suffered him to help himself with his other force wherein he was the stronger: and that he kept not still near unto his army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently have prepared to his power ready by sea, to have resisted his enemy. To confess a truth, Pompey committed not so great a fault in all this war, neither did Cæsar put forth a better device, than to make his enemy fight far from his army by sea. Thus Pompey being driven to attempt somewhat according to his small ability, he sent ambassadors unto the cities. To others, he went himself in person also to require money, wherewith he manned and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the sudden approach of his enemy, lest he should prevent him before he could put any reasonable force in readiness for to resist him: he bethought himself what place he might best retire unto for his most safety. When he had considered of it, he thought that there was never a province of the Romans that could save and defend them. And for other strange realms, he thought Parthia above all other, was the best place to receive them into at that present, having so small power as they had: and that was better able to help and aid them with more power than they. Other of his council were of mind to go into Africk, unto King Juba. But Theophanes Lesbian said, He thought it a great folly, to leave

Pompey's great error, and Cæsar's crafty device

Pompey arriveth in Egypt

Egypt which was but three days' sailing from thence, and King Ptolemy, (being but lately come to man's state, and bound unto Pompey for the late friendship and favour his father found of him) and to go put himself into the hands of the Parthians, the vilest, and unfaithfulest nation in the world, and not to prove the modesty of a Roman, that had been his father-in-law, whose prosperity if he could have endured, he might have been the chiefest man: and now to put himself to Arsaces' good-will, who could not away with Crassus when he lived. Further, he thought it an ill part also, for him to go carry his young wife of the noble house of Scipio, amongst the barbarous people, who think it lawful for them to use what villainy and insolency they list to any. For, admit she have no villainy offered her by them: yet is it an undecent thing, to think she might have been dishonoured, they having her in their power to do it. There was no persuasion (as they say) but this only that turned Pompey unto Euphrates: for it seemeth that Pompey's council, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to fly into Egypt, he departed out of Cyprus in a galley of Seleucia with his wife Cornelia. The residue of his train embarked also, some into galleys, and others into merchants ships of great burden, and so safely passed the sea without danger. When Pompey heard news that King Ptolemy was in the city of Pelusium with his army, making war against his sister: he went thither, and sent a messenger before unto the king, to advertise him of his arrival, and to entreat him to receive him. King Ptolemy was then but a young man, insomuch as one Pothinus

governed all the whole realm under him. He assembled a council of the chiefest and wisest men of the court, who had such credit and authority as it pleased him to give them. They being assembled, he commanded every man in the king's name to say his mind touching the receiving of Pompey, whether the king should receive him or not. It was a miserable thing to see Pothinus, an eunuch of the king's, and Theodotus of Chios, an hired schoolmaister to teach the young king rhetorick, and Achillas Egyptian, to consult among themselves what they should do with Pompey the Great. These were the chiefest counsellors of all his eunuchs, and of those that had brought him up. Now did Pompey ride at anker upon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this council: in the which the opinions of other were divers, for they would not have received him: the other also, that he should be received. But the rhetorician Theodotus to shew his eloquence, persuaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, said he, if we receive him, we shall have Cæsar our enemy, and Pompey our lord: and if they do deny him on the other side, Pompey will blame them for refusing of him, and Cæsar for not keeping of him. Therefore, this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby they should win the good-will of the one, and not fear the displeasure of the other: and some say moreover, that he added this mock withal: A dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themselves gave Achillas commission to do it. He taking with him Septimius (who had charge aforetime under Pompey) and Salvius another

A dead man biteth not

How Pompey was received in Egypt

centurion also, with three or four soldiers besides, they made towards Pompey's galley, about whom were at that time, the chiefest of his train, to see what would become of this matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in princely shew and manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, seeing so few men come to them in a fisher boat: they began then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, and counselled Pompey to return back, and to launch again into the sea, being out of the danger of the hurling of a dart. In the mean time, the fisher boat drew near, and Septimius rose and saluted Pompey in the Roman tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as sovereign captain: and Achillas also spake to him in the Greek tongue, and bade him come into his boat, because that by the shore side, there was a great deal of mud and sand-banks, so that his galley should have no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw afar off divers of the king's galleys which were arming with all speed possible, and all the shore besides full of soldiers. Thus, though Pompey and his company would have altered their minds, they could not have told how to have escaped: and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had given the murderer occasion to have executed his cruelty. So taking his leave of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end: he commanded two centurions to go down before him into the Egyptians boat, and Philip one of his slaves enfranchised, with another slave called Scythes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receive him into his boat, he turned him to his

wife and son, and said these verses of Sophocles unto them:

The man that into court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage be.

The manliness and patience of Pompey at his death

These were the last words he spake unto his people, when he left his own galley and went into the Egyptians boat. The land being a great way off from his galley, when he saw never man in the boat speak friendly unto him, beholding Septimius, he said unto him: Methinks my friend I should know thee, for that thou hast served with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gave him no answer, nor shewed him any courtesy. Pompey seeing that no man spake to him, took a little book he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he meant to make unto King Ptolemy, and began to read it. When they came near the shore, Cornelia with her servants and friends about her, stood up in her ship in great fear, to see what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the king's people on the shore, coming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honour him. But even as Pompey took Philip his hand to arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him and thrust him through with his sword. Next unto him also, Salvius and Achillas drew out their swords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but took up his gown with his hands and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gave him, only sighing a little. Thus being nine-and-fifty year old, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at

The funerals of Pompey

anker in their ships, when they saw him murdered, gave such a fearful cry, that it was heard to the shore: then weighing up their ankers with speed, they hoised sail, and departed their way, having wind at will that blew a lusty gale, as soon as they had gotten the main sea. The Egyptians which prepared to row after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and unpossible to be overtaken: they let them go. Then having stricken off Pompey's head, they threw his body overboard, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. Philip his enfranchised bondman remained ever by it, until such time as the Egyptians had seen it their bellies full. Then having washed his body with salt water, and wrapped it up in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in: he sought upon the sands, and found at the length a piece of an old fisher's boat, enough to serve to burn his naked body with, but not all fully out. As he was busy gathering the broken pieces of this boat together, thither came unto him an old Roman, who in his youth had served under Pompey, and said unto him: O friend, what art thou that preparest the funerals of Pompey the Great? Philip answered, That he was a bondman of his enfranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not have all this honour alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in so devout a deed, that I may not altogether repent me to have dwelt so long in a strange country, where I have abidden such misery and trouble: but that to recompense me withal, I may have this good hap, with mine own hands to touch Pompey's body, and to help to bury the only and most famous captain of the Romans. The next

day after, Lucius Lentulus not knowing what had passed, coming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore side, and perceived a fire made for funerals, and Philip standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, What is he that is dead and buried there? But straight fetching a great sigh, Alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the Great. Then he landed a little, and was straight taken and slain. This was the end of Pompey the Great. Not long after, Cæsar also came into Egypt that was in great wars, where Pompey's head was presented unto him: but he turned his head aside and would not see it, and abhorred him that brought it as a detestable murtherer. Then taking his ring wherewith he sealed his letters, whereupon was graven a lion holding a sword: he burst out a-weeping. Achillas and Pothinus he put to death. King Ptolemy himself also, being overthrown in battell by the river of Nile, vanished away, and was never heard of after. Theodotus the Rhetorician escaped Cæsar's hands, and wandered up and down Egypt in great misery, despised of every man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slew Cæsar) conquering Asia, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly devise, at the length slew him.

The murtherers of Pompey put to death

The ashes of Pompey's body were afterwards brought unto his wife Cornelia, who buried them in a town of hers by the city of Alba.

THE COMPARISON OF
POMPEY WITH AGESILAUS

How they came to their greatness

Now that we have declared unto you, the lives of Agesilaus and Pompey: let us compare their manners and conditions together, which are these. First, Pompey came to his honour and greatness, by his integrity, and so advanced himself: and was a great aid unto Sulla, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid those tyrants out of Italy, who held it in bondage. But Agesilaus usurped the kingdom of Lacedæmon, against the law of gods and men, condemning Leotychides for a bastard, whom his brother avowed to be his lawful son: and contemned besides the oracle of the gods, which gave warning of a lame king. Furthermore, Pompey did honour Sulla while he lived, and when he was dead, gave his body honourable burial in despite of Lepidus: and married his daughter unto Faustus the son of Sulla. Agesilaus contrarily did dishonour Lysander upon light occasion: but Pompey had done no less for Sulla, than Sulla had done for him. Lysander on the other side, had made Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, and lieutenant-general of all Greece. Thirdly, the injuries that Pompey did unto the common-weal, were done of necessity to please Cæsar and Scipio, both of them his fathers-in-law. Agesilaus also, to satisfy his son's love, saved Sphodrias' life that had deserved death, for

the mischief he had done the Athenians: and he willingly also took part with Phœbidas, not secretly, but openly, because he had broken the peace made with the Thebans. To conclude, what hurt Pompey did unto the Romans, either through ignorance, or to pleasure his friends: the same did Agesilaus unto the Lacedæmonians, through anger and self-will, in renewing war with the Bœotians, upon a full peace concluded. If we shall reckon of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed: Pompey's fortune unto the Romans was unlooked for. But Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to avoid the lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For though Leotychides had been proved a bastard ten thousand times, yet had not the race of the Euryontides failed, but they could have found another lawful king among them, that should have gone upright: had not Lysander, favouring Agesilaus, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the Lacedæmonians. On the other side again for matters of government, there was never such an excellent device found out, as was done by Agesilaus: to help the fear and danger the Lacedæmonians were in, for those that fled at the battell of Leuctra, when he counselled them to let the law sleep for that day. Neither can any man match Pompey's with the like: who, to shew his friends what power he was of, did break the laws which himself had made. For Agesilaus being driven of necessity to abolish the law, to save the life of his citizens, found such a device that the law was not hurtful to the commonwealth, neither yet was put down for fear it should do hurt. I must needs commend this for a great vertue and

The faults of either

Things done by them in wars

civility in Agesilaus, who so soon as he received the scytala (or scroll of parchment from the Ephori) returned into his country, and left the war of Asia. He did not as Pompey, who made himself great to the benefit of the commonwealth, and for the commonwealth's sake did forsake such honour and so great authority, as never captain before him, but Alexander the Great, had the like in those parts. But now to other matter. Touching their battels and exploits in wars, the multitude of victories and triumphs that Pompey obtained, and the great armies that he led: Xenophon himself if he were alive, could not compare Agesilaus' victories unto his: although for the singular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompense thereof he had liberty granted him, to write and speak of Agesilaus what he thought good. Me thinks also, there was great difference betwixt Pompey and Agesilaus, in their equity, and clemency towards their enemies. For, whilst Agesilaus went about to conquer Thebes, and utterly to raze and destroy the city of Messené, the one being an ancient city of his country, and the other the capital city of Bœotia: he had almost lost his own city of Sparta, for at the least he lost the commandment and rule he had over the rest of Greece. The other contrarily gave cities unto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to change their trade and manner of life: and when it was in his choice to lead Tigranes King of Armenia, in triumph at Rome, he chose rather to make him a confederate of the Romans, saying, That he preferred perpetual honour before one day's glory. But since it is reason we should give the first place and honour of the discipline of wars, unto a captain

of the greatest skill and experience in wars: the Lacedæmonian then leaveth the Roman far behind. For first of all Agesilaus never forsook his city, though it was besieged with threescore and ten thousand men, and that there were very few within the same to defend it, the which also a little before had been overthrown at the battell of Leuctra. And Pompey on the other side, hearing that Cæsar with five thousand footmen only had taken a town in Italy: fled from Rome in very great fear. And therein he cannot be excused of one of these two: either that he fled cowardly for so few men, or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conveyed his wife and children away, but he left all the rest without defence, and fled: where indeed he should either have overcome, valiantly fighting for defence of his country, or else have received the conditions of peace which the conquerors should have offered him. For, he was a citizen and allied unto him. And he that thought it an untolerable thing to prolong the term of his government, or to grant him a second Consulship: did now give him opportunity, suffering him to take the city of Rome, to say unto Metellus the Tribune, and the rest, that they were all his prisoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefest point of an excellent captain, to compel his enemies to fight when he findeth himself the stronger, and also to keep himself from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: Agesilaus excelling in that, did ever keep himself invincible. Cæsar also had great skill therein, to keep himself from danger being the weaker, and again could tell how to compel Pompey to hazard battell, to his utter destruction by land,

A specia
point of
skilful
captain

Pompey blamed

where he was the weaker: and by this means he made himself lord of the treasure, victuals, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their hands, without fighting. That which they allege in his excuse, is that which most doth condemn him, specially for so great and skilful a captain. For as it is likely enough, that a young general of an army may easily be brought from his wise and safe counsel, with rumour and tumult of a few fearful men, that should persuade him it were a shame and dishonour for him if he did otherwise; yet were this no strange matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prætors and Consuls that governed at Rome, rebels and traitors to the commonwealth of Rome: who could excuse him (who was never seen commanded by other than himself, but had been always chief captain and general in any war he made, and ever had the upper hand) but that he was drawn on by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, to hazard battell, to endanger the whole empire and liberty of Rome, only for fear they should call him King Agamemnon? Who, if he had so much regarded present infamy, he should have fought from the beginning for defence of the city of Rome, and not to have taken example of Themistocles' policy by flying, and afterwards to think it a shame as he did, to lie in Thessaly a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fields of Pharsalia for a theatre, or close camp, of necessity to fight which of them should have the empire of Rome. Further, there was no herald to summon him to fight, as there are at games of prize,

where he must answer to his name, and come and fight, or else to lose the honour of the crown unto another. But there were infinite other fields and towns (and as a man would say the whole earth) which the commodity of his army by sea gave him choice to conquer if he would rather have followed the steps of Fabius Maximus, of Marius, of Lucullus, or of Agesilaus himself: who did patiently abide no less tumults within the city self of Sparta, when the Thebans went to summon him to come out to fight, for all the rest of his country. And in Egypt also, he did abide many false accusations against him, wherewith the king himself did burthen him, praying him always to have a little patience. In fine, having followed the best counsel which he had determined with himself from the beginning, he saved the Egyptians against their wills: and furthermore, he did not only keep the city of Sparta from so great a danger, but did also set up tokens of triumph in the same against the Thebans, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the slaughter, and besides that, gave his citizens occasion to obtain victory afterwards. Hereupon Agesilaus was highly praised of them, whose lives he had saved against their wills. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by themselves, through whom he had offended: yet some say, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio. For he meaning to keep the most part of the money to himself which he had brought out of Asia, did hasten and persuade Pompey to give battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had been true, a worthy captain should not so lightly have been brought into error, upon a false account, to hazard himself to lose

Agesilaus constanter than Pompey

Pompey flying into Egypt is excused

all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their journeys into Egypt, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with small honour, for money's sake to serve the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make war with the Grecians. Lastly, in that which we accuse the Egyptians for Pompey's sake: for the like matter do they again accuse Agesilaus.

For, the one was cruelly put to death, and
betrayed by them whom he trusted:
and Agesilaus forsook them
which trusted him, and went
to the enemies, having
brought aid to fight
against them.

THE END OF POMPEY'S LIFE.

EPILOGUE

To fight well one must hate well, and the Romans were not lacking in either quality. It need never surprise us then, if the enemies of Rome are painted by Romans a shade blacker than they deserve. But Plutarch, standing aloof both as a Greek and as a philosopher, is able to do justice to any mark of true greatness in such. Perhaps it is a hard saying to class Sertorius among Rome's enemies. In the last years of the Republic indeed, it is hard to tell which is Rome and who are her enemies. Still the fact remains that Sertorius established a government of his own in Spain, and fought against armies sent by the magistrates of Rome. He stood on the losing side, and the rebel in him is made to swallow up the ruler. But Plutarch is keen to spy out a man of rare powers and qualities. More chaste he was than Philip, more faithful to his friend than Antigonus, more courteous to his enemies than Hannibal; for wisdom and judgment he gave place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. He clearly had something of Hannibal's magical charm, something of his quick genius in war and power of organising. What would the history of the next thirty years have been if Sertorius had conquered Pompey and returned to Rome?

If it was hard to find sympathy for a rebel, it was harder to be just towards a slave; and most Romans

looked upon Spartacus as on a level with vermin, to be caught and killed as speedily as might be. Yet this rude shepherd not only held at bay the whole strength of Rome, and won brilliant victories against her troops: his will was master of a horde of desperate cut-throats, embittered by cruelty and wrong, fleshed with blood, and inebriate with the breath of freedom. It is not easy to say whether he is more to be admired for strength, wisdom, or humanity. We could wish that Plutarch had given us more than a sketch of this man. If he had compared him with Sertorius, he might have pointed out how the barbarian spared the homes of those who had held him in vile thraldom; while the civilised Roman, when betrayed, grew so crabbed and fierce of nature, that he put to death numbers of innocent young boys.

Crassus is a less admirable figure than most of those in Plutarch's gallery. He was rich and powerful; he was narrow, jealous, and greedy. There have been thousands like him, and many such have risen at a push, as Crassus did, to something like heroism. Perhaps Plutarch was attracted to him, for that he showed such a manifest example of the vengeance of Nemesis, so complete an overturn of fortune. But we can forgive Plutarch his choice, in reading the brilliant picture of Crassus' last march and the battle of Carrhæ. The eastern battle recalls the last stand of the Cimbri: only that was bleak, cold, and grim like the northern sky, this is radiant with colour and movement; that suggests the bear, this the tiger. There is all the treachery of the tiger, as well as her beauty, in this army of the Parthians. The translator also appears to revel in these barbaric scenes: the deadly sounding drums that filled the air with a

wonderful noise, mingled, as it were, with the braying or bellowing of a wild beast; bright helmets and cuirasses of Margian tempered steel, that glowed like fire; horses also barbed with steel and copper, wheeling about as swift and docile as any Arab of the desert can go; the terrible long-bows, the heavy pikes, and the galling showers of arrows shot from far out of reach.

But the chief interest of the volume will centre in Pompey. His intellect and character are full of perplexity for the onlooker. Now he appears as a true military genius, now as an empty boaster; at one time full of foresight, at another like the ostrich that hides his head in the sand. It was no incompetent swept the pirates off the seas in three months; yet it was the same man who thought he had but to stamp his foot on the earth, and up would spring armed hosts to annihilate Cæsar. Nor is his character less puzzling. Courage and cowardice, meanness and magnanimity, take turns in ruling him. He burns the letters of Sertorius unread, and refuses to take one step towards making up a quarrel of his own; he flies from a mere name, and dies like a man. What a study he might have made for Shakespeare! To rise higher than any man had ever yet done, except Alexander the Great; to die murdered in sight of his wife by three contemptible scoundrels, his body washed for burial in the sea, wrapt in an old shirt, and burnt with ship-wrecked wood by one poor slave.

EDITORIAL NOTE

NORTH'S *Plutarch* was first published in 1579, and at once it became popular, as many as seven new editions appearing within the century following the first publication. Another translation bears the name of Dryden, who wrote the Introduction to it; and in latter days the translation of John and William Langhorne has been most widely read. Several of the Lives have also been translated by George Long. In point of accuracy, North's version (being made from the French, and not from the Greek direct) cannot compare with the Langhornes' or with Long's; but as a piece of English style it is far to be preferred before any other.

The present issue is based on the first edition of 1579, but in a few instances (which are pointed out in the Notes) an improvement has been adopted from one of the later editions. The spelling has been modernised, except in a few words where it testifies to the ancient pronunciation; but old grammatical forms have been kept unchanged. The proper names are spelt in an erratic manner by North, and are here corrected in accordance with common usage; except in a few words which all know, where North has englished the ending, as

Delphes. Where, however, North is not always consistent (as in the endings *-ion* and *-ium*), the Editor has not felt bound to be so, but has kept as close to the original as possible.

The Notes draw attention to the chief places where North has mistaken the meaning of Amyot, or Amyot has mistranslated the Greek; and to those places where the translators had a reading different from the received text, that of Sintenis being taken as the standard. The shoulder-notes have been taken as far as possible from North's marginalia.

NOTES

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6. 'place poverty in things indifferent': The Stoics held that virtue was good, vice bad, and all else indifferent; so that a man cannot be poor or rich in respect of money, but only of vice or virtue.
17. 'Romania': the Greek text has Picenum, *τῆς Πικηνίδος*.
18. 'Far': N. simply borrows Amyot's word, which is not represented in the Greek. As for the word Far, it is from Pharos, the name of the lighthouse at Alexandria.
22. For the Ovation see Life of Marcellus, vol. v. p. 292.
30. 'called Zenodotia': has been inserted by N., which is a pity, as it spoils the next sentence.
31. 'goddess Hierapolis': insert 'of'; this was a city, the goddess Astarte. A. has *la déesse de Hierapolis*, correctly.
56. 'called Sinnaca': the Greek has 'under Sinnaca.'
62. 'Agave, . . . his son's head': 'his' should be 'her,' but is so written by N.
91. 'pitched field': 'This place may well be taken two ways, and either of both allowable: and according to the other it might be said, to lead Roman citizens to the wars, fighting like valiant men'—N. from A., who says 'two readings' not 'two versions.'
102. 'Tuttia': so the Greek; Sintenis, from conjecture, *Τουρίαν*.
169. 'sea Maior': see notes to vol. i. p. 68, and vol. v. p. 187.
172. 'wive's': the regular possessive of 'wife.'
177. 'to love': 'other read, to have pity, and to be wise.' N. from A.
180. 'Trochalians': the Greek has Tralles, *Τράλλεις*.
189. 'unto Menecrates, health': 'meaning, that he was not well in his wits to be so presumptuous.' N. from A.

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190. 'one of their bards called the Mothers': a ludicrous blunder. The Greek word is *μόρα*, *mora*, which A. transliterates *Moere;* and this N. has mistaken for *mère*.

196. North notes on this page: 'Agesilaus cockered his children too much.'

203. 'Tresantes': 'those who shrank,' cowards or faint-hearted men.

213. 'should,' *i.e.* was said, a common idiom in English reported speech.

242. 'new governors': ed. 1 has 'no governors,' a misprint.

246. 'Pompey burnt Sertorius' letters: the like also did Julius Cæsar when he overcame Pompey.' *Note by N.*

252. 'twins': so A. But the Greek has *τὸ* Κλάριον, *τὸ Διδυμαῖον*, 'the temple of Claros, the temple of Didyma,' *i.e.* of Apollo at Branchidæ, in Asia Minor.
'The Earth': *τῆς Χθονίας*, *i.e.* Demeter of the Earth, or of the Underworld.

267. 'Inora': emended in Sintenis to Sinora.

272. 'Leleges': the Greek has Leges, Λῆγες.

274. 'Cænon': the 'New' castle.

281. 'played false at tables': A. *s'estoit mal gouuernee*, Gr. *ἐξύβρισεν*, *i.e.* did evil deeds.

319. 'upwards': the meaning is, to wait till they come close, and then try to mark the enemies' faces.

322. 'Crassinius': the Greek text has Crassianus.

335. 'landed a little': I do not know what N. meant by 'a little'; it cannot be made satisfactory by transposing. 'A little after was taken and slain' would give the sense fairly well.

VOCABULARY

ACARNANIA, a mountainous district in the SW. of N. Greece.

ACATES, victuals, 328.

ACHAIANS, a race inhabiting the N. coast of the Peloponnese.

ACHILLES, the great hero of the Greeks in the Trojan war.

ACTIUM, a town in Acarnania, NW. Greece.

ADVENTURE, chance, 43.

ÆSCHYLUS, 525–456 B.C., first of the great Athenian tragic poets.

ÆSCULAPIUS, god of healing and leechcraft.

ÆSOP, the fabulist, flourished about 570 B.C., a slave.

AFFIANCE, trust, 124.

AGAMEMNON, king of Mycenæ, caused the "wrath of Achilles" by taking away from him Briseïs, a captive maiden.

AGAVE, daughter of Cadmus, mother of Pentheus. Pentheus tried to stop the Bacchic revels, and was torn in pieces by his mother in her frenzy.

AHENOBARBUS, CN. DOMITIUS, married Porcia, Cato's sister; supported the aristocratic party; fell at Pharsalia, 48 B.C.

ALARM, to arms, 320.

ALBA, a town near Rome.

ALCETAS, one of Alexander's generals, brother of Perdiccas; joined with Eumenes; killed himself 320 B.C., to avoid falling into the hands of Antigonus.

ALCIBIADES, about 450–404 B.C., an Athenian statesman and general, famous for his beauty, profligacy, and cleverness, a friend of Socrates.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, son of Philip of Macedon and Olympias, born at Pella, B.C. 356; king, 336–323; crossed the Hellespont, 334; battle of the Granicus, 333; founded Alexandria, 331; conquered Darius at Gaugamela, 331 (Arbela); invaded India, 327.

AMANUS, a branch of M

AMATE, astound, stup

AMISUS, a large city o the Black Sea.

AMPHIPOLIS, on the Macedonia, besieg where both he and 424 B.C.

ANTÆUS, a legendary slain by Hercules.

ANTALCIDAS, a Spar concluded a peace w king, by which the were abandoned mercies.

ANTIGONUS, one o generals, after his of Greater Phrygi Pamphilia; defeat Eumenes, 316 B.C.; k after a war with ot Alexander, invaded the battle of Ipsus, 3

ANTIOCH, name of s Asia; A. Epi Daph of Syria.

ANTIPATER, a Maced Macedon for Alexa the Greeks at Cran died, 319.

ANTISCHUS II. SOTE the Romans near M 190 B.C.

ANTONIUS, MARCUS, born about 83 B.C., Cicero, partisan of C at Mutina, 43; trium vianus and Lepidus, Octavianus at Actiu Cleopatra; killed hin

APOLLO, god of wisdom later also of the sun. his title in Thebes.

ARCADIA: a battle w between Agis, king Antipater, regent of

ARCHIDAMUS, king of

D, ARGOS, a city and plain in E. of the Peloponnese.
UM, now RIMINI, in Umbria.
ES, an Athenian statesman, the Just, flourished about C.
ES, a Greek of unknown date, wrote a licentious romance *Milesiaca*.
BULUS, name of several princes læa. The second of that name aken prisoner by Pompey in .
TLE OF STAGIRA, the great opher, 4th century B.C.
S, dynastic name of thirty of Parthia. In the reign of es I., Crassus was defeated at æ 53 B.C.
M, a town in Picenum.
S POLLIO, C., a poet, historian, rator of the Augustan age.
a city on the strait Euripus, parts Eubœa from the main- Hence Agamemnon started roy, and here sacrificed his ter Iphigenia to allay the ary winds.
UM, a Roman colony in Pice-
VITH, endure, 91.
ON, on the Euphrates.
ANTS, revellers; there was a y revel of Bacchus on Mount eron, where the women grew ed and did all sorts of wild geous things.
, a kingdom in Central Asia.
arrying, outbreak, attack, 288.
T, ballasted, 287.
rse, 129.
, armoured, 34.
LL, often used for battalion, f battle, &c., 41.
N HAND, assure, 33.
E, in order that, 34.
ING, beholden, obliged, 22.
, drinker, 91.
S CALPURNIUS, M., consul ; with Cæsar, upholder of the cratic party; died, 48.
ING, skirmish, 314.
ay, offer, 171.

BLANK, deter, 238.
BRAVERY, defiance, 16.
BRUIT, rumour, 57.
BRUNDUSIUM, Brindisi, in S. Italy.
BRUTTIANS, they of Bruttium, in the toe of Italy.
BRUTUS, M., joined Pompey in 49 B.C.; pardoned by Cæsar after Pharsalia, 48; murdered Cæsar, 44.
BULLA, a medal or ball hung by Roman boys about their necks.
BURTHEN, accuse, 193.

CÆPIO, Q. SERVILIUS, consul, 106 B.C.; defeated by the Cimbri 105, with loss of 80,000 fighting men.
CÆSAR, C. JULIUS, born 100 B.C.; consul, 59; in Gaul, 58–50; crossed the Rubicon, 49; conquered Pompey at Pharsalia, 48; dictator, 48–44; murdered, 44.
CALABRIA, a district in S. Italy.
CARBO, CN. PAPIRIUS, one of the Marian leaders, consul, 85, 84, and 82; driven to Sicily, and killed.
CARCANET, helmet, 77.
CARRES, CARRHÆ, in Mesopotamia, where Crassus and his army were destroyed, 53 B.C.
CARRIAGE, baggage, 125.
CARTHAGE, great Phœnician colony in N. Africa.
CASSANDER, son of Antipater, after whose death he fought against Polysperchon and against Antigonus; smoothed his path by treacherous murders; took the title of King 306 B.C.; after the Ipsus, 301, obtained Macedonia and Greece; died, 297.
CAST, attempt (a hunting metaphor), 324.
CASTULO, on the Bætis, in Spain.
CATO, M. PORCIUS, called of Utica from the place of his death, 95–46 B.C.; opposed Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; after the battle of Thapsus had made his cause hopeless, he killed himself.
CATTELL, CHATTEL, piece of goods, 3.
CATULUS, Q. LUTATIUS, consul, 78 B.C.; defeated Lepidus at the Milvian Bridge; died, 60.

CATULUS, Q. LUTATIUS, consul in 102 with Marius, and next year beat the Cimbri near Vercellæ.
CELÆNÆ, in S. Phrygia.
CENTENER, centurion, 269.
CENTENIER, centurion, 227.
CEPHISUS, a river of Attica.
CERES, Greek DEMETER, goddess of corn and agriculture, mother of Persephone (Proserpine).
CHAMPION, CHAMPAIGN, plain, 170.
CHEAP, price; "good cheap" means "cheap," 1.
CICERO, M. TULLIUS, the orator, statesman, and literary man, 106–43 B.C.; as consul in 63 crushed the rebellion of Catiline; banished, 58; returned, 57; opposed Cæsar, but was generously pardoned by him; killed by orders of Antony, 43.
CINNA, L. CORNELIUS, during Sulla's absence in the East, 87–84 B.C., leader of the popular party; took part in Marius's massacres; slain, 84.
CLAROS, a small town (not island) near Colophon, in Asia Minor.
CLAUDIUS PULCHER, C., prætor 73 B.C., defeated by Spartans.
CLEOPATRA, sister of Alexander the Great, married Alexander King of Epirus, 336 B.C.; afterwards kept captive in Sardis, and killed by order of Antigonus.
CLODIUS, P. CLAUDIUS (or CLODIUS) PULCHER, a profligate adventurer, enemy of Cicero; tribune, 58; killed in a brawl with his enemy Milo.
CNIDOS, GNIDOS, a city on the promontory of Trispium, in Caria (not an island).
COLOURABLY, in pretence, 168.
COMBER, inconvenience, 47.
CON, learn, 187.
CONFINE, to march, have the same bounds with, 124.
CONSEQUENTLY, in succession, 198.
CONVERSANT, associated, 87.
CORACESIUM, a stronghold in Cilicia.
CORINTH, where the Spartans defeated the allied Greeks 394 B.C.
CORONEA, in Bœotia, where Agesilaus defeated the allied Greeks 394 B.C.
COTTA, M. AURELIUS, consul 74 B.C.; defeated by Mithridates.
COULD, knew, 326.
CRASSUS, M. LICINIUS, led a[rmy] into Parthia, which was anni[hilated] at Carrhæ, 53 B.C.
CRATERUS, one of Alexander's [gene]rals after his death governe[d] Antipater of Macedonia and C[raterus] fell in 321 B.C. fighting agains[t] enes.
CRATIPPUS OF LESBOS, a Peri[patetic] philosopher, teacher of Cicer[o]
CULEO, Q. TERENTIUS, worl[ked] the recall of Cicero, afterw[ards] lieutenant of Lepidus.
CURACES, CUIRASS, body-arm[our]
CURST, ill-tempered, 23.
CYTHERA, an island off Cape M[alea]

DANGER, power, 128.
DELPHES, DELPHI, in Phocis, [with] the oracle of Apollo Pythian.
DIANA, Greek ARTEMIS, virg[in] dess of the wild woodland, [and] the moon; sister to Apollo.
DICÆARCHUS OF SICILY, phil[osopher] and historian, fourth centur[y]
DISCOMMODITY, inconvenience
DISLODGE, depart, 40.
DIVERS, diverse, different, 309.
DRACHMA, a silver coin about [equal] as a franc.
DURIS OF SAMOS, lived in th[e time] of Ptolemy Philadelphus, [wrote] History of Greece betwe[en] 281 B.C.
DUTY, to do; to salute, bow 189.
DYRRHACHIUM, a port of Illy[ria] the Adriatic.

ELEMENT, upper air, 149.
ELEUSIS, a city near Athens the Mysteries were celebr[ated] honour of Demeter and Pers[ephone]
ELYSIAN FIELDS, abode of the Hades.
EMBASE, abase, 287.
EMBEZZLED, stolen, 173.
EPAMINONDAS, a Theban sta[te] and general, freed Thebes fr[om] Spartans, 379 B.C.; comma[nded] Leuctra, 371; founded Messe[ne] conquered Spartans at M[an]362, where he was killed.

EPHORI, chief board of magistrates in Sparta, superior to the kings themselves.
EPHORUS OF CYMÆ, in Æolis, a Greek historian, fl. 340 B.C. He wrote a universal history.
EPIDAURUS, a city near Argos and Hermione, a famous health-resort and watering-place.
ERMITE, used to translate Amyot's *viperes*, 61.
EUMENES, one of Alexander's generals, a distinguished soldier and statesman, fought against Antigonus 320–316 B.C.; put to death by Antigonus, 316.
EURIPIDES, 480–406 B.C., the third of the great Athenian tragic poets.
EUROTAS, chief river of Lacedæmon.
EXPECT, await, 217.

FACT, deed, 195.
FAR, lighthouse (borrowed from French), 18.
FARDLE, bundle, 61.
FAVONIUS, M., called "Cato's ape" because he imitated him so; joined Pompey in 49 B.C., and was faithful to him until the end, when he was pardoned by Cæsar.
FENCERS, gladiators, 13.
FENESTELLA, a Roman historian, died A.D. 21.
FETCH, trick, 57.
FIMBRIA, a lieutenant of Sulla's.
FIND, provide food for, 65.
FINENESS, finesse, 104.
FLATLING, flat, 223.
FOIL, defile, 191.
FOIL, repulse, refusal, 176.
FOIST, a light bark or pinnace, 311.
FOND, foolish, 123.
FORESEE, provide for, 208.
FRANCHISED, freed, 222.
FURNISHED, equipped, 34.
FURNITURE, trappings, 103.

GALLIOT, a kind of galley, 252.
GARBOIL, tumult, 178.
GEAR, flurry, excitement, 200.
GELLIUS POPLICOLA, L., consul 72 B.C.; defeated after his consulship by Spartacus.
GERÆSTUS, town and promontory at S. end of Eubœa.
GESTS, deeds, 281.
GLORIOUS, boastful, 243.
GLORY, boastfulness, confidence, 314.
GRAVITY, seriousness, weight, 300.
GUARDED, bordered, 95.

HANNIBAL, son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, invaded Italy 218 B.C.; won several crushing victories, forced to retreat to Africa, defeated at Zama, 202; driven into banishment, took poison to avoid capture about 183.
HECTOR, son of Priam, King of Troy, chief hero on the Trojan side in the war.
HELICON, a mount in Bœotia, sacred to the Muses.
HELOTS, serfs of the Spartans.
HEPHÆSTION, a bosom friend of Alexander the Great, who mourned greatly at his death in 325 B.C.
HERCULES, national hero of Greece. His labours were undertaken at the bidding of Eurystheus. They were: (1) Nemean lion; (2) Lernean hydra; (3) Arcadian stag; (4) Erymanthian boar; (5) Cleansing of the stables of Augeas; (6) Stymphalian birds; (7) Cretan bull; (8) Mares of Diomedes; (9) Queen of Amazon's girdle; (10) Oxen of Geryones; (11) Golden apples of the Hesperides; (12) Cerberus brought up from Hades. After death he was deified.
HERCULES' PILLARS, the Strait of Gibraltar. Hercules was supposed to have set up a pillar on either side to show the limit of his travelling.
HERMIONE, in Argolis, with a famous temple of Demeter Chthonia.
HIERAPOLIS, in NE. Syria, seat of the worship of Astarte.
HIERONYMUS OF CARDIA, served under Eumenes, 316 B.C.; he attached himself to Antigonus, governor of Bœotia, 292; wrote a history of the successors of Alexander.
HOISE, hoist, 292.
HOPE, HEAP, party (as in "forlorn hope"), 12.

HOWBOY, HAUTBOY, a wind instrument, 42.
HUSBAND, caretaker, organiser, 4.
HYPSÆUS, P. PLAUTIUS, tribune 54 B.C.

IBERUS, the Ebro, in Spain.
IDA, a mountain near Troy.
IMPARLANCE, parley, 137.
INCONTINENTLY, immediately, 78.
INDIFFERENT, just, 126.
INDIFFERENTLY, moderately, 5.
INDIFFERENTLY, equally, 167.
INWARDLY, to heart, 216.
IPHICRATES, an Athenian commander, who annihilated a Spartan regiment 392 B.C. His success was due to a new combination in armour—light shield, no cuirass, and long spear and sword.
ISTHMIAN GAMES, celebrated every two years on the isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Posidon (Neptune).
ISTHMUS, the isthmus of Corinth.

JACK, jacket, 46.
JAR, quarrel, 9.
JOURNEY, day, often used of battles, 249.
JUBA, son of Juba, King of Mauritania, brought up at Rome, and became a learned historian. He wrote in Greek histories of Africa, Arabia, Assyria, and Rome.
JUGERA, acres (or so).
JUNO, Greek HERA, wife of Jupiter (Zeus), queen of the gods. There was a great temple of Hera in Samos.
JUPITER, Greek ZEUS, king of the gods. A title of his was Capitoline, from the Roman Capitol, where he had a great temple.

KEEP, live, 22.

LABIENUS, T., tribune 63 B.C.; a legate of Cæsar, but joined Pompey, 49; fought at Pharsalia, 48; Thapsus, 46; Munda, 45, where he was slain.
LABOURED, tampered with, 36.
LACONIAN, Spartan.
LAMIA, in Thessaly, where Antipater was besieged by the Greeks 323 B.C.
LAOMEDON, mythical King of Troy.
LARISSA, chief city of Thessaly.
LAURON, in Hispania Tarraconensis.
LEMMAN, concubine, 272.
LENTULUS, CN. CORNELIUS, consul 72 B.C., defeated after his consulship by Spartacus.
LEONNATUS, a Macedonian, one of the chief of Alexander's officers, after his death governor of Lesser Phrygia; fought with Antipater against the Greeks, and fell in battle.
LET, hinder, 77.
LET, hindrance, 24.
LET, hesitate, 192.
LEUCAS, an island off the W. coast of Greece.
LEUCTRA, in Bœotia, where Epaminondas defeated the Spartans 371 B.C.
LEWD, coarse, rough, 316.
LITHER, lazy, 78.
LUCANIA, in Lower Italy, between Campania, Cymlia, and Bruttium.
LUCCA, LUCA, a town near Pisa, in Upper Italy.
LUCULLUS, L. LICINIUS, conqueror of Mithridates, died about 57.
LYCURGUS, an Attic orator, 396–323 B.C.
LYCURGUS, founder of the Spartan constitution (ninth century B.C.).
LYSANDER, ended the Peloponnesian war by the victory of Ægospotami, 405 B.C.; took Athens and destroyed the walls, 404; killed under Haliartus, 395.

MAIOR SEA, the Black Sea. *See* note to p. 169.
MALACA, a town on the coast of Hispania Bætica.
MANTINEA, a city in Arcadia. In 421 B.C. Agis of Sparta defeated the allied Argives, Mantineans, and Athenians; in 362 B.C. Epaminondas was killed here.
MANURE, till, 259.
MARCHES, borders, 88.
MARISH, marsh, 55.
MARIUS, C., 157–86 B.C., a plebeian

who was seven times consul, a distinguished soldier, conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutons, instigator of foul massacres.

MARS, Roman god of war.

MEAN, moderation, 213.

MEDIOCRITY, moderation, 213.

MEGARA, a Doric city between Athens and Corinth.

MELLARIA, in Hispania Bætica.

MELOS, an island in the S. Ægean.

MENDE, in Macedonia, on the peninsula Pallene.

MENDES, a city in the delta of the Nile.

MESSENE, capital of Messenia, on Mount Ithome.

MESSENIA, a fertile plain westward of Mount Taygetus, for centuries a rival to Sparta.

MESSINA, a town on the straits that separate Italy and Sicily.

METELLUS PIUS, Q. CÆCILIUS, commended in the Social War; left for Africa in the reign of terror, returned 83 B.C. to join Sulla; consul with Sulla, 80; fought against Sertorius; died about 63.

MINA, a weight or sum of money about equal in bullion to £4.

MINERVA, Gr. ATHENA, goddess of wisdom and handicrafts.

MINISH, diminish, waste, 199.

MINOA, the port of Megara.

MISERY, miserliness, 10.

MITHRIDATES THE GREAT, King of Pontus 120–63 B.C., long successfully resisted the Romans. The first war with Rome ended 84; Sulla and Pompey both fought against him.

MITHRAS, an Eastern deity, identified with the sun.

MITYLENE, MYTILENE, capital of Lesbos.

MODENA, Lat. MUTINA, a town of Gallia Cispadana, not far from Milan.

MOE, more (of number), 17.

MOITY, moiety, half, 162.

MONETH, month, 2.

MORIAN, headpiece, 19.

MUMMIUS, L., the conqueror of Corinth, 146 B.C.

MUTTON, sheep, 143.

NATURAL, true-born, 190.

NEARCHUS, a Cretan, one of Alexander's officers, commanded the fleet on the Hydaspes 325 B.C.; fought with Antigonus against Eumenes, 317.

NEMEAN GAMES, celebrated every two years at Nemea, in the Peloponnese, for the honour of Zeus (Jupiter).

NEPTUNE, Gr. POSEIDON, god of the sea.

NEOPTOLEMUS, a Macedonian, one of Alexander's officers; after his death governor of Armenia; defeated and slain by Eumenes.

NEUTER, neutral, 121.

NICANOR, an officer of Alexander; after his death governor of Cappadocia, partisan of Antigonus; made by him governor of Media.

NIGGOT, ingot, 120.

OCCUPY, follow (a trade), 198.

OCCUPY, use, 142.

OF, instead of, out of, 233.

OLYMPIA, in Elis, seat of the great games, where were seen many noble temples, in chief that of Zeus.

OLYMPIC GAMES, celebrated every four years at Olympia, in Elis, for the honour of Zeus (Jupiter); these were the greatest games of all Greece.

OLYMPUS, on the borders of Thessaly, highest mountain of Greece.

OMNIGATHERUM, medley, 96.

OSCA, in Hispania Tarraconensis.

OUGHT, owed, 364.

OUT OF HAND, at once, 107.

OVERTHWART, opposite, 239.

PACK, compact, intrigue, 294.

PAINFUL, careful, 5.

PARTISAN, short pike, 105.

PARTY, person, 281.

PASITIGRIS, a river rising on the confines of Media and Persia, and flowing into the Persian Gulf

PASS, care, 81.

PASSING, surpassing, 7.

PASSINGLY, surpassingly, 87.

PELLA, in Macedon, birthplace of Alexander the Great.

PELOPIDAS, a Theban patriot, friend of Epaminondas, one of the liberators of Thebes.

PELUSIUM, a city in Egypt.

PERDICCAS OF MACEDON, one of Alexander's chief generals; after his death, regent; opposed by a coalition of Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy; invaded Egypt, where he was killed.

PERICLES, an Athenian orator and democratic statesman, died 429 B.C.

PERPENNA (or PERPERNA) VENTO, M., joined the Marian party; worked along with Lepidus against the Constitution; joined Sertorius, whom he assassinated in 72 B.C.

PERSUADE, advise, 290.

PETELIA, a Greek town on the E. of Bruttium.

PETRA, capital of Idumæa, at the foot of Mount Hor, near the Dead Sea.

PEUCESTES, a Macedonian, one of Alexander's chiefest generals; after his death, governor of Persia; fought for Eumenes; deposed by Antigonus.

PHARSALIA, a plain in Thessaly, by Pharsalus, where Cæsar defeated Pompey, 48 B.C.

PHILIP, founder of the Macedonian empire, 382–336 B.C.

PHILIP III. OF MACEDON, title given to Arrhidæus, a bastard half-brother of Alexander: called King after Alexander's death in 323 B.C.; put to death by order of Olympias, 317.

PIGRES OF HALICARNASSUS, brother or son of Artemisia.

PITYUSA, one of the Balearic Isles.

PLATFORM, plan, 281.

POINT, lace, knot of string, 232.

POLRON (polring, poldern), the armour of neck and shoulders, 130.

POLYSPERCHRON, a Macedonian, officer of Alexander, appointed by Antipater to be regent after him; fought against Cassander; supported Hercules, Alexander's son, against Cassander; persuaded to *murder* Hercules, and served with *Cassander.*

POMPEY, CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106 B.C., one of the triumvirate, 59; one of the most successful of Sulla's generals; fought against Sertorius, 76–71; consul, 70; popular hero, cleared the sea of pirates, 67; took Jerusalem, 63; killed in Egypt, 48.

PONT, PONTUS, a kingdom in Asia Minor S. of the Black Sea.

PORTSALE, auction, properly of prizes sold in a port, 2.

PRACTICE, plot, 194.

PRACTICE, intrigue, 26.

PREASE, press, 106.

PREFER, promote, 142.

PREST, press, 77.

PREST, haste, 120.

PREVENT, forestall, 248.

PROMETHEUS, a Titan, for bringing fire to men condemned to be enchained on a mountain, and his liver devoured by an eagle. Hercules delivered him.

PROPOUND, propose, 306.

PROVE, try, 327.

PUISSANT, powerful, 275.

PULPIT, platform, 22.

PYRRHUS, King of Epirus, 318–272 B.C., who after a long career of conquest invaded Italy, 280; at first successful, afterwards defeated at Beneventum, 275.

PYTHIAN GAMES, celebrated every four years at Delphi in honour of Apollo Pythian.

RAMPER, rampart, 106.

RAY, array, 228.

REDE, advise, 161.

REQUIRE, demand, 238.

RESPECT, reservation, 176.

RHEGIANS, a people of the district S.W. of Italy.

RHODES, chief city of the island so called, off the S. coast of Caria.

ROMULUS, founder of Rome, and first king.

RUBICON, a small river separating Gallia Cisalpina from Italy proper. In crossing this, 49 B.C., Cæsar left his province in arms, and so defied the senate.

ıRY, the Archer, a sign of the .
UM, in Hispania Tarracon-
an island off Mycale, in Asia .
RACIA, a large island in the gean, with famous temple of ibiri.
capital of Lydia.
A, harbour of Cythera.
Y, scarcely, 78.
L. CORNELIUS, conqueror of hus II. 190 B.C.
P. CORN. SC. ÆMILIANUS ANUS MINOR, born about 185 took Carthage, 146; Num- 133; died suddenly, probably rder, 129.
IER, writer, 3.
'Y, carelessness, 304.
silly, simple, 204.
RY, lordship, dominion, 164.
A, on the Tigris.
IUS, Q., a Sabine, fought in where he led a revolution t the Romans, successful for years, till in 72 B.C. he was red.
, P. (Tidius), tribune, 57 oined Pompey, 49; afterwards ver to Cæsar.
SHAWM, a pipe, or wind in- ent of music, 185.
, sharp, 125.
ES OF CEOS, 556–467 B.C., one chief lyric poets of Greece.
a port on the Black Sea, in of Asia Minor.
ice, 153.
E, since, 25.
suspect, 302.
FARE, service as a soldier, 75.
the coast of Cilicia.
ES, second of the great an tragic poets, 495–406
swoon, 198.
IUS, leader of a gladiators' ves' revolt, 73 B.C.; for two victorious, he wasted Italy, is then defeated and slain by s. He was an able and truly nan.
SPIAL, spy, 15.
STARK, stiff, strong, 49.
STATE, potentate, 143.
STOUT, bold, 124.
STRAIT, inconvenient, hard, narrow, strict, 136.
STUFF, belongings, 328.
SULLA, L. CORNELIUS, 138–78 B.C., a noble, profligate but a great general and statesman; made himself dictator 82 B.C., when his proscriptions made Rome run with blood.
SUMPTER, burden, 38.
SUPPLY, reinforcement, 106.
SUSE, SUSA, a city where was the winter palace of the Persian kings.
TABLE, tablet, 284.
TÆNARUS, a promontory S. of the Peloponnese.
TALENT, a sum in bullion equal to £240 or so.
TARGET, shield, 56.
TAURUS, a mountain chain in the S. of Asia Minor.
TEMPE, a valley in Thessaly, between Olympus and Ossa.
THEMISTOCLES, about 514–449 B.C., an Athenian statesman and general. To him is due the credit of the victory at Salamis. He fortified the city and the harbour of Piræus.
THEOPHANES OF MYTILENE, a friend of Pompey, who wrote his history.
THEOPHRASTUS OF LESBOS, a Greek philosopher and naturalist, died at a great age, 287 B.C.
THEOPOMPUS OF CHIOS, a Greek historian, 4th century B.C.
THRIASIAN PLAIN, plain of Eleusis, next that of Athens.
TIGRANES, name of several kings of Armenia.
TIMAGENES OF ALEXANDRIA, a rhetorician and historian of the reign of Augustus.
TIMOTHEUS OF MILETUS, a musician and poet, 446–357 B.C.
TINGIS, Tangier.
TORMENT, twist, writhe, 46.
TRACT, protract, 31.
TRALLES, in Caria, on a tributary of the Mæander.

TRAPEZUNT, TRAPEZUS, a city on the SE. of the Black Sea, now Trebizond.
TROTH, truth, 126.
TRUSS, bundle, 61.
TUDER, a town in Umbria, near the Tiber.
TWINS, Castor and Pollux. The temple in Claros was sacred to Apollo, not to the Twins (252).

UNREBATED, unblunted, sharp, 13.
UNTRUSS, untie, 232.
UNWARES, unawares, 285.
USURP, use, govern, 111.
UTICA, near Carthage, in N. Africa.

VALENTIA, in Spain, near New Carthage.
VENTER, venture, 266.
VENUS, Gr. APHRODITE, goddess of love and beauty, often identified with the Phœnician Astarte. One of her titles was Victrix, the conqueror.
VIZARD, face-piece of helmet, disguise, 215.
VOWARD, vanguard, 61.
VOYAGE, journey, 191.

WEARISH, puny, 97.
WINK, close the eyes, not to see, 232.
WOE WORTH, woe is, 327.
WORLD, vast number, 179.
WHEN AS, when, 201.

XENOPHON, an Athenian traveller, soldier, and writer, a friend of Socrates. He led the Ten Thousand back to Greece after the battle of Cunaxa. One of his books is the Symposium, or Banquet, in which Autolycus is a character (p. 26).

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